

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

"DO THY SPIRITING GENTLY."

If the common notions entertained on the subject of government are to be regarded as a correct exponent of the intellectual and moral progress of society, the world has made no great advance, as yet, in knowledge. Our best legislation is but a clumsy specimen of handicraft in this department—rude, coarse, and ponderous—much more closely allied with what may fitly be designated the brutal, than the spiritual. The same essential principles run through all systems of government, the most barbarous and the most enlightened. The moving power, relied upon equally by the last as by the first, is the stick—and communities of men are managed very much on the same system as droves of oxen. It is presumed that they know nothing aright—and that what they know they will not practise, save upon compulsion—that they are to be evermore and in all things mistrusted—that the practical philosophy which takes them out of the class "animal," and puts them into the category "moral," is but the day-dream of benevolent enthusiasts—that nothing but the goad at their backs, and everlastingly yelping curs at their heels, can keep them on the road to their own best interests. Rulers forget, and the ruled are almost oblivious of the fact, that they who govern and they who submit to government have a common origin and a common nature—that class distinctions are essentially distinctions only of food and dress. For one man to drive a herd of bullocks is no marvel—he is exercising nothing more than natural lordship; but the ox that would manage oxen must go before them—must lead, not drive. It is so with human kind. They who know how to touch lightly—to do their "spiriting gently"—to entice forth into cheerful, willing exercise all intelligent and moral faculties—to confide more in suggestion than in enactment—to let sunshine play upon the will rather than raise blustering winds to rage around it—they are most successful in the government of man.

Christianity, when it comes to be better understood, and to be thoroughly scoured of the rust and dirt with which priestcraft has dimmed its lustre, will correct these crude notions. It establishes government of a higher order than men, at present, are able fully to appreciate—government, not only compatible, but actually identical, with liberty. They who come under its benign and gentle sway are the freest of the free. They pass away from under a system of positive rule, to come under one of moral obligation. Laws are for children—principles for men. The conduct of the former, in whom reason has not yet found its mature development, may be properly fenced about on every hand with precise directions, literal and authoritative orders, legal restrictions which, like brick walls capped with broken glass, bear upon the face of them sharp penalties. But then, the obedience of children, secured by such means, is little worth, except as initiation into the higher forms of it. As childhood ripens into youth, the code which regulated nursery movements falls into desuetude. Filial attachment, gratitude for parental care, sense of propriety, and what may be termed, not inaptly, domestic honour, are trusted to work out the wholesome restraint which in earlier years could only be secured by means more coarse and clumsy. The adult is governed by influences appropriate to his position. The laws which bind him to an observance of all the decencies of his station, are of another kind than those imposed upon him in boyhood. They are not less authoritative—but their authority is enforced upon reason rather than upon action. They are stringent—but their stringency is felt by the mind rather than by the body. Obedience to them has its rewards—disobedience its punishments; but both rewards and punishments are of a kind which individual conscience can alone administer.

The government which Christianity introduces is after this order. Its positive enactments are the fewest possible. It implants certain great principles for the guidance of human conduct, and contents itself with indicating the extremes between which such principles may have their range. There is none of the pomp and pother of human governments. Its ends are attained with as little noise as are those of nature. In the material world we see, annually, earth altering its whole aspect—

things which were, passing away, and things which were not, coming into being—but we are not stunned with perpetual hammering—not a sound is there to indicate that all the agents of nature are busy in their respective workshops. In the spiritual world the same phenomenon exhibits itself. Christianity is, in this respect as in others, beautifully analogous to what we call nature. It is not, from end to end, an unceasing clatter of "do this," "do that," "refrain from this," "avoid that." No! But the great and glorious orb of truth noiselessly rises—and man goeth forth to his labour. There is an exemplification of moral beauty in the source—there is anticipated the formation, by its appearance, of taste to recognise and appreciate it—and there is a not unwarranted assumption that conduct will correspond with taste. A hint is here and there thrown out to indicate the direction in which right feelings may best express themselves—but the government set up is in all its characteristics a free one—the government of a husband over the wife of his bosom. All its subjects are subjects of free choice—all its laws are laws of honour and of love.

Very inopportune for religion, this world's legislators in their vaunted wisdom, were and are utterly unable to appreciate this noiseless but effective system of government. They took Christianity to be defective, and resolved to supply its deficiencies. They might just as well have aimed to improve upon nature herself—to prohibit by legal enactments the appearance of frosts in April, and the fall of rains in August. They must have everything squared by legislative contrivance—everything enforced by pains and penalties. They have no faith in truth—they utterly mistrust all human nature but their own. No one matter is safe, in their apprehension, until they have prescribed. Is religion the safeguard of states? They must command attention to it. Is it fitting to maintain Christian institutions? They must secure their maintenance by force. Here, even in this high department, no confidence is to be placed in the operation of spiritual principles. Every arrangement must be settled by law—every result secured by force. Man is still to be dealt with as the stupid ox. So much labour—such and so much food. What is he but an animate machine? Prescribe for him—prescribe minutely—prescribe in every conceivable thing. Trust him in no wise. Reason! Where is it but in governors? Religion! Who cares a straw for it but legislators? Church rates, Easter dues, parochial fees, tithes—personal, predial and mixed—all partake of the same character—perpetrate the same fundamental blunder—that of introducing into a system of government designed for the manhood of human mind, all the leading-strings, go-carts, and nursery formulas found necessary in its infancy.

The voluntary principle possesses, at all events, this merit, that it is in unison with the higher and more spiritual order of government under which Christianity places the human will. It does not enact everything, as though there existed but one head in the universe competent to understand "what," and but one conscience capable of feeling the force of "why." It prescribes neither "when," "where," nor "how much." It leaves all details where Christianity leaves them—with individual reason. The great Head of the church might easily have settled all such particulars by authority—might have mapped out man's duties so minutely, as to leave him in no case to the exercise of his own judgment, or to the impulse of his own emotions. Had He seen fit, scripture might have been a magazine of solutions of cases of conscience. But then the whole genius of his rule would have been other than it is. The entire framework of his administration is spiritual. Attempt to combine with it the physical, and you utterly destroy its power. The tenor of his religion is, "Choose"—the tenor of the voluntary principle is, "Choose"—that of a state-church is, "Who are you, sirrah, that you should presume to choose?" When God approaches man, he recognises his independency and freedom of agency. When man approaches his fellow, he assumes a superior authority which we should rather have expected from God. Power and pride—reality and assumption—how different, how opposite, how unexpected in their respective developments?

We are not much in the habit of quoting scripture in these our illustrations of Christian willing-

hood, albeit we would be understood to defer implicitly to their authority. But there is one saying of the great Master, which we think has never yet been understood in all its range of significance. "If, therefore, the Son make you free, then are you free indeed." The theological sense of this it is not our object to determine, but that it indicates a primary and characteristic principle of his government, we think no intelligent man can doubt. But if human conduct is to be chalked out in all respects by human law, leaving no room whatever for the oscillation of feeling and principle—if nothing is safe but what is enforced by penalties—and no obedience can be left to the spontaneous impulses of an essentially new nature—if in all matters pertaining to the permanence and progress of truth, men are to be dealt with as mere brute beasts, to be goaded, and pricked, and coerced into right action by police regulations, fines, and imprisonments—to what does the value of that freedom amount which Christianity confers, and in what respects do its votaries differ from the varietal slaves in existence? "Do thy spiriting gently," is the charge which voluntarism delivers to its agents—a charge in keeping with the whole design of Christianity. "Off with his head—so much for Buckingham," is the imperious exclamation of the compulsory principle. The one is ethereal, the other thoroughly mundane. The potency of the first is that of the moon, which looks full-eyed upon ocean, and ocean in all its tides and currents implicitly obeys. The force of the last is that of hydraulic pressure, which can be applied only locally, and which, if withdrawn for an instant, leaves things just where they were. There is all the difference between the one and the other that there is between what is human and what is divine. Man compels—God persuades.

CHURCH ENCROACHMENT AND USURPATION.—The following alarming enumeration of measures now actually before parliament, or announced, encroaching on the rights of dissenters, is contained in a circular that has been issued to the Baptist churches and congregations of the West Riding of Yorkshire, by the "Association Committee of Civil Privileges":—

"Many of you may not be aware that the Factory bill is only one of not less than five bills now proposed, all designed to increase immensely church and state patronage, and to diminish the liberties, or add to the civil disadvantages, of dissenters.

"1. The Factory bill, besides its other iniquities, will give patronage in each school.

"2. 'The Pauper Education bill,' founded on the very same principles as the Factory bill, will give high church instruction, and create church patronage in every one of the ten thousand parishes in the kingdom.

"3. Sir Robert Peel's bill for 'endowing national churches,' though it avails itself of existing ecclesiastical funds (which are, however, national funds), will largely increase the power and patronage of the state and clergy.

"4. 'A Church Maintenance bill,' by which the state church is to be exempted from the operation of the Mortmain act, while dissenters are left subject to it; by which any extent of the land of the country may come into the hands of the church.

"5. Mackinnon's bill for the health of towns, by which, besides the patronage it creates, the safety of our present cemeteries is much endangered; and by which dissenters burying in the new burial grounds, though purchased and maintained by a parish rate, must pay a double fee—one, in every case, to the clergyman of the parish.

"You will perceive that these bills are so many parts of a design to create a patronage of from thirty to fifty thousand placements, available to all the purposes of high church and electioneering intrigue, and to place dissenters under many fresh disadvantages and disabilities. That they are, in short, a vast, yet cunning and plausible plan to make separation from the church annoying to dissenters, and to enslave the minds of the rising generation to superstition and tyranny before it could learn to detest them."

A GOOD EXAMPLE.—A highly instructive and interesting lecture, on the claims of dissenters, was delivered on Tuesday evening last, at the public hall, Taunton, by the Rev. R. R. Poulter, which occupied more than two hours and a half in the delivery. The audience was not so large as could be wished, owing partly to the gentleman not being known, and partly to the town not being fully acquainted with the lecture. He commenced with preliminary observations on churches generally, and state churches in particular, and then proceeded to show the distinctive character of dissenting churches and the means of their support. He showed with great clearness of elucidation that a state church was unreasonable, unscriptural, and unjust; and asked with great naïveté, where the advocates of a state church found their principles laid down in the Bible. In showing the injustice of a state church, he said it persecuted in pagan, papal, and protestant times. It

is impossible to give a tithe of the speech as delivered—suffice it to say, the speaker fully established the claims of dissenters, which were as follows:—First, political equality or freedom; secondly, intellectual freedom; and thirdly, religious equality or freedom. The only cure was the separation of church and state. The speaker was cheered throughout his address; and gave notice, at its close, of a series of lectures to be delivered in the same place very shortly. The Rev. J. Jackson moved a vote of thanks, which was seconded by Mr Musgrove, and warmly applauded by the audience. The lecturer, in a brief speech, returned thanks for the vote which was accorded to him by the meeting.—*Western Times*.

LADY HEWLEY'S CHARITY.—The Vice-chancellor of England delivered judgment in the important case, "Attorney-general v. Shore," on Tuesday, the 8th instant, confirming the previous decision, ordering that all parties shall have their costs out of the estate, and appointing two trustees from the Scotch church, two trustees from the Scotch secession church, and three from the independents, thereby excluding the unitarians from all management of the charity.

THE SCOTCH KIRK.

The General Assembly of the church of Scotland meets to-morrow, and in all probability, ere another number of our paper appears, a disruption of the Scotch church establishment will have taken place. Meanwhile we copy the following from the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* in reference to that event:—

"An intense interest prevails regarding the approaching meeting of the General Assembly and a thousand surmises are afloat as to what course its proceedings will take. As the eventful time is so close at hand, we shall refrain from all speculation and confine ourselves for the present to a mere statement of the reported arrangements for the great ecclesiastical battle. The moderate newspapers talk with confidence of the appointment of Principal Macfarlan as moderator. Their calculation is that the middle party who are politely designated 'the forty thieves' by the nonintrusionists, will throw their weight into the moderate scale and thus determine the question—the two extreme parties being supposed nearly equal in numbers. 'The forty,' it is also stated, seemingly on good authority, are prepared to vote for declaring the veto act null and void, and for excluding the *quoad sacra* ministers and elders from the Assembly, and, in short for everything tending to prevent the disruption of the establishment. The avowed defections from the nonintrusion ranks have not of late been numerous, and it is expected the party will show a strong front and retire in a body on the first day of the meeting."

ASSOCIATIONS.—The associations in support of the free church now amount to 602.

CONTRIBUTIONS.—The *Witness* of Saturday last contains the following list of contributions for the free church:—"The secretary of the provisional committee has received two richly embroidered India crape shawls, two elaborately embossed Chinese fans, and some precious stones, from a 'lady'; also three gold rings from 'a lady in St Andrews'; and a gold chain from 'a friend,' per Dr Candlish, to be disposed of for the behoof of the free church. The Rev. C. J. Brown begs to acknowledge receipt of a complete set of pearls, also of a diamond ring, and a ring set with pearls, the gift of an anonymous friend to the free presbyterian church. A collector in St Mary's congregation begs to acknowledge receipt of a gold chain, sent anonymously for the use of the free presbyterian church, which has been handed over to the treasurer."

NONINTRUSION CRISIS.—We understand, that in view of the secession from the established church of Scotland, the dissenters of this city have resolved to hold a public social meeting upon a very comprehensive scale, immediately after the close of the proceedings of the General Assembly, for the purpose of expressing their feelings and opinions regarding the conduct of the nonintrusion party. As this demonstration is to be of a friendly character, and as some of the most pious and talented advocates of civil and religious freedom have been engaged as speakers, the best result to the interests of uncorrupted Christianity and the promotion of Christian feeling may be anticipated.—*Scotsman*.

OUR PROBABLE NEW ALLIES.—To our mind this suggests itself with all the force of a duty. We are not at liberty to do it, or not to do it, according as we shall think fit. In whatever way we may think it politic to speak, every one who can reason must see that our repeated assertions of principle, our repeated demonstrations of principle, clinched as they are to be by the act of quitting the establishment, make it equally an absurdity to imagine that we should not aim at its destruction, and a sin to intend not to do so. To come out from it, and then to settle quietly by its side, would be a grim joke. O that men would act out their own principles! It vexes one to the heart to see men bold in affirming a principle, yet shrinking back from the first new inference from that principle—brave as the bravest in asserting a proposition, yet turning pale at the statement of its most essential corollary; and though they see that corollary to be true, yet fearing to contemplate it or to announce it bluntly. No considerations of delicacy, no motives of prudence, can be of force to justify us in not acting vehemently up to the conviction which must remain in our minds in spite of the subtlest reasonings, that the very act of leaving the establishment, and the very principles which compel us to that act, do also bind us by a logical necessity to labour incessantly for the demolition of the institution we thus declare to be corrupt.—*Aberdeen Banner*, a staunch nonintrusion paper.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SCHEME.

THE WESLEYAN METHODIST ASSOCIATION.—The connexional committee representing this body have published a circular, in which they recommend the most strenuous opposition to Sir James Graham's amended bill. They chiefly object to the interference with the rights of parents; to the unconstitutional power invested in the privy council, both in controlling the education and in taxing the community; and to compulsory payments for the support of religion. And lastly—

"Believing also that the bill, if enacted, would impede rather than advance the progress of education, this committee, therefore, most earnestly recommends that the most vigorous and persevering efforts be immediately put forth to oppose the bill by every constitutional means, and in its every stage; that public meetings be held to explain the objectionable clauses of the bill; and that petitions be sent from every congregation and school in our connexion, earnestly imploring the House of Commons that the educational clauses may be utterly expunged, or the bill entirely rejected."

THE WESLEYANS.—The Wesleyan committee of privileges has at length published a circular on the subject of the amended bill. They state that they, as a committee, will petition parliament in the terms of their former prayer. They recommend petitioning to be delayed until the third reading, or rather to abstain from petitioning till further advised by their committee. They may still, however, communicate with members of parliament. In conclusion—

"The committee are most anxious that undue haste should be avoided, and that the opposition which it is still necessary to offer to the bill should be conducted in our separate and distinctive capacity, on our own principles, and in the spirit hitherto displayed by us; and that it should not merge in any of the proceedings which may be adopted by other bodies."

THE STATE CHURCH AND FACTORY BILL.—The following is the copy of a handbill which is being circulated about the metropolis, and is sold by Dinis, Paternoster row:—

"Friends of Liberty—We have at last been aroused from our criminal apathy on the subject of our rights and liberties, civil and religious. The instrument in God's hand has been Sir James Graham; the means, the intolerance of the educational clauses in his Factory bill. We acknowledge the providence with devout gratitude, while we are joined with you, brethren, heart, hand, and purse, in opposing this oppressive and insulting measure. But this is but one offset of the deadly upas tree, which ever and anon exerts its pestiferous influence through church extension bills, cemetery bills, workhouse chaplaincies, religious education bills, Maynooth grants, and the like. To be rid of these, strike at the root. The root, say you, what is it? Behold it in the church connected with the state! Yes; separate church and state, and our legislators will attend to their own proper duties—state affairs."

"Separate church and state, and our bishops, relieved from the lords, and the clergy from their inappropriate functions as civil magistrates, may each attend to their own proper duties—church affairs."

"Separate church and state, religion will flourish, peace will be more secure, strife and acrimony will cease. Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."

"Separate church and state, and our liberties are secure. Till then; yes, hear it; till then we are tolerated bondsmen."

Yours truly,
JOHN SEARCH, jun."

On the other side of the sheet are maxims and watchwords in reference to the same subject.

FINSBURY COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.—The following is a copy of a petition against the Factories bill, emanating from this body.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled,

"The petition of the members of the Finsbury Complete Suffrage association,

"Sheweth,
"That your petitioners are convinced that 'under the present system of government in this country any scheme of national education would be utterly impracticable and injurious—that it would place within the power of the state the means of destroying the civil and religious independence of the people, and that far from promoting the progress of popular education, it would materially retard it."

"That in the judgment of your petitioners the amended educational clauses of the Factory bill aggravate, rather than remove, the main objections to the measure, inasmuch as they recognise a principle of compulsory education, which your petitioners believe to be incompatible with the existence of a free constitution; that they mainly intrust the education of the rising generation to the hands of a state church; and violate one of the fundamental principles of the British constitution by imposing taxation without the consent of the tax payer."

"That your petitioners, though desirous of seeing the principles of religion practically carried out in the life and conduct of every individual member of the legislature, believe that the interference of the state with religious matters is unscriptural, beyond the range of human governments, and inimical to the best interests of the nation."

"That it is the conviction of your petitioners that the existence of a state church has been and is one of the greatest obstructions to the intellectual, moral, and religious advancement of the people, and that neither the civil nor religious liberties of the country can be safe as long as the church is allied to the state."

"That your petitioners believe that the best means of promoting the cause of education, of preserving the peace, and restoring the prosperity of the country is by putting an end to class legislation, and by making the legislature, in effect as well as in theory, the representative of the whole people."

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray your honourable House to reject, without further modification, the educational clauses of the Factory bill, to give the people their just rights, and to relieve the present fearful distress under which they are suffering, by removing those monopolies which are the greatest barriers to their physical, social, and moral well-being."

FROME, SOMERSET.—A public meeting was held in Badcox lane chapel, in this town, on the evening of Wednesday, 10th of May, to oppose Sir J. Graham's amended Factories bill. The large chapel was densely crowded. J. Sinkins, Esq., occupied the

chair. The various speakers, the Rev. Messrs Middle-ditch, Fernie, Griffiths, Leask, Jones, and Edwards, were listened to with the most earnest attention. We never remember to have witnessed such a long continued burst of enthusiastic applause as followed the speech of the Rev. W. Leask, when, after blaming electors for their apathy in returning such men as Graham to parliament, and refusing to admit the whole people within the pale of representation, he concluded by saying—"Whatever the issue of the present struggle, whether the bill pass or be withdrawn, henceforth the rallying cry of all enlightened dissenters must be, DOWN WITH THE CHURCH."

GREAT MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

A great meeting was held at the Free Trade hall, on Wednesday evening, to take into consideration the proposed amendments of Sir James Graham to the educational clauses of the Factory bill. The hall was filled almost to the doors; indeed it was stated during the proceedings, that upwards of 9,000 persons were present.

Mr Alderman CALLENDER was called to the chair, and along with him on the platform were most of the leading merchants and manufacturers, being dissenters, together with about twenty ministers of the gospel.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said, since they had last assembled on this education scheme, Sir James Graham had introduced a series of what he called "amendments" to it, but which he deemed that meeting would be disposed to call by another name. However, he should call before him a number of speakers, who would explain the extent and nature of the alterations, and it would then be for the meeting to express an opinion on the subject.

The Rev. JAMES GWYTHER moved the first resolution, for which see our advertising columns. He commented on various topics suggested by the resolution, and quoted the following extract from the evidence of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, before the committee of council for education, in reference to the national schools of that town.

"What is the first thing which your godfathers and godmothers promised and vowed that you should renounce?" "That I should keep God's holy will and commandments" [laughter]. "What are the pomps and vanities of the world which your godfathers and godmothers vowed for you that you should renounce?" "1. All the sinful lusts of the flesh; 2. The devil and all his works" [renewed laughter]. "What are those sinful lusts of the flesh?" "1. The works of God; 2. Swearing and cursing; 3. Believing in God; 4. Using the name of God" [great laughter]. There is another examination reported, No. 11; 67 boys present, eight of whom were of the first class. He says:—"As they were working sums when I entered, I set them the following sum in multiplication, 893,574 by 69. They worked it very slowly, and only one brought a right result [hear, hear]. I then examined them in the church catechism, which they repeat every day, and received precisely such random and unmeaning answers as those given in No. 10; there not being the slightest indication in one child that he understood any portion of that through which he daily toiled. We then read the first chapter of the Acts, which occurred as their lesson for the day. Some words were mispronounced, some were omitted, and some were inserted in the place of others so as to destroy the sense of the passage. Before the 23rd verse was finished by the confused and stammering boy, the master's patience was utterly exhausted, and as some proper names were still to be mastered by the faltering scholar, he exclaimed to him, 'Hold your tongue,' and then added to the next boy, 'Go on with the next verse.' After the chapter was finished, I asked them what they had been reading about; all were for a while silent; at length one brighter than the rest said, 'The lot fell upon Matthias.' This opened the way for other questions, when we proceeded thus:—"What was the lot about?" [general silence]. "Where was Galilee?" "The men as was gazing up into heaven." "What country was Nazareth in?" "Bethlehem." "How long did Jesus Christ live at Nazareth?" "Twelve years." "What town in Galilee did he chiefly live in?" "Jerusalem."—No. 13. "The mistress accounted for the fact that none of the girls learned arithmetic, by stating that in her opinion it was unnecessary for them [hear, and laughter]. The writing in the few copy-books exhibited was extremely bad, and yet it had already conferred distinction on the young writers, for, said the mistress—'As many as writes comes into the first class'" [laughter and applause].

The Rev. CHARLES THOMPSON, in an able speech, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The second resolution was moved by Professor NEWMAN, of the Manchester New college, and seconded by the Rev. JOSEPH DAVIS. The latter gentleman denounced government interference with religion.

The Rev. WILLIAM M'KERROW, in an able and eloquent speech, proposed the adoption of a petition, founded on the resolutions adopted. After referring to the amended bill in general terms, he proceeded,

It is not requisite that I should detain you by bringing before you statements and arguments with which you are familiar, but I must say that my opposition to this bill is, if possible, more decided and uncompromising than ever [cheers]; for it rouses one's indignation to think that after its intolerant, and unjust, and inquisitorial, and prejudicial character has been exposed, and that after thousands of petitions have been sent up against it, and tens of thousands of voices have been raised against it, it should yet be brought forward and represented as worthy of our acceptance when merely a few trifling verbal alterations have been made in it, and whilst its principle, its spirit, its mode of operation, and its tendency are as bad as ever they were before [very loud applause]. It still compels the education of the factory child, under the penalties of starvation, and exposes his parents to annoyances and fines on account of circumstances over which they can have no control. It still secures to the church party predominance in the matter of trusteeship, and thus will perpetuate and extend partiality and injustice. It still gives the clerical trustee the power of exercising his displeasure over any child he may wish to dismiss from the school or factory; it offers no protection against the exercise of such an arbitrary power, for though he cannot do this by himself as before, he has now simply to call together two other trustees of the church party, and they will undoubtedly aid him in his purpose [hear, hear]. It is still a church extension scheme at the expense of the public at large [hear, hear]. It still provides for the supply of all necessary expenses from the poor rates, and thus will take many a shilling from the indigent and perishing, that hundreds of pounds may be given to chaplains or ministers; for the poor law

guardians will be exceedingly economical where there is an opportunity for the exercise of this principle—they will be unwilling to excite the public odium by laying heavy rates, and they will be disposed to disregard the wants and petitions of the indigent and perishing. It is still an insult to the dissenter, because it compels his child to withdraw from the building to the erection of which he has contributed, while religious instruction is imparted to others. It still infringes on the right of the subject, for it excludes the nonconformist from the situation of mastership, no matter what may be his peculiar qualifications for the office, and renders it imperative that every teacher should be a member of the church of England, and the nominee of a bishop [hear, hear]. It still proceeds upon the assumption—the unfounded assumption—that governments have a right to interfere with the religious education of the people [hear, hear]. This interference is the source of all the evils which the bill exhibits, and the root of all the bitterness of which the bill is productive. What is it but this that has created injudicious distinctions between the churchman and dissenter, and what is it but this that has begotten encroachment by the former, and indignation and resistance by the latter [hear, hear]? I fully accord with the principle laid down by my friend, Mr Davis, that no government has a right to interfere with the religious instruction of the people [cheers]. I do so on the ground that it is unscriptural, that it is unjust, that it is injurious. It is unscriptural, for it is unsanctioned either by the precept or the example of the Great founder of our holy religion. It is unjust because it interferes with the rights of those who object to state religion, while they are no less loyal [hear, hear, hear], less valuable, or less useful members of society. It is injurious, for the whole history of Christianity shows that its purest, brightest—its most successful days were those in which it achieved its triumphs by the power of its own principles and the blessing of the Great King, the head of the church [applause], and ever since the church has been taken in alliance with the state intolerance encroachment and persecution have been the results of such connexion [applause]. I will not discuss this principle at length, because it would occupy the time of the meeting too long; but believing this principle to be unscriptural and unsound I must oppose to the utmost of my power this iniquitous bill which has been introduced by Sir James Graham—more especially that it interferes with the care of religion. What has this interference done for religion? What has it done against religion? Why, just everything. It is this interference which has presented us with that abomination, the purchase and sale of church patronage; it is this interference which has made the clergy the tools of the state, the supporters of all monopolies [hear]—men at variance with the rights and interests of the people generally [loud applause]. Oh! it is impossible while this principle is recognised, we can enjoy anything of security, of peace, and happiness. We must not, therefore, be content to exercise our strength in resisting aggression—we must not content ourselves with lopping off a few of the branches of the upas tree, while it will send forth its shoots—let us lay the axe to the roots [loud and enthusiastic cheers]. Let us endeavour to hew it down. Interfere not with episcopacy—let it stand on its merits [hear, hear]—if it will, but if it cannot stand here as it has done in Scotland and in America, on its own merits, it should not stand at all [cheers]. Why should we, who conscientiously dissent, be compelled to support such a system as this? Oh! it is unrighteous to our time, such a system as this; and depend upon it, we will be subject to encroachments such as these which have brought us together, and which have excited so much of enthusiasm and holy indignation, until we go forward, contending for that which is scriptural, and that which is right—the entire freedom of conscience [applause]—the entire liberty of man, whatever is his creed, to work for the propagation of his principles [loud cheers]. I am glad to find, my friends, you are up to the mark. I tried the matter the other day in the Town hall, and found that there was a generous response to this sentiment [applause]. I remember, ten years ago, at a large and enthusiastic meeting in the Exchange Dining room, that I said that we ought to petition government to dissolve the connexion between church and state [applause]. Well, we were assailed by the Tory papers—aye, and I am sorry to say, the Whig press too [“shame”]—at least, by that cold, calculating portion of it, which never seeks to create public opinion, but to follow it—which always looks more to pocket than principle [laughter and cheers]. We were told we would injure the cause [laughter]—that we should throw dissent back, that we should throw freedom of conscience, and freedom to propagate religious opinion, back a hundred years [renewed laughter]. Some of our friends became alarmed, and thought that these opinions, propounded with so much gravity and authority, must be right. I denied it then, and I deny it now [loud cheering]. Oh! it is to this truckling and time-serving disposition that we owe all the evils with which we are threatened. Depend upon it, my friends, it is always the right time to speak the truth [cheers]—and these expediency-men will never do anything for the civil and religious liberty of their country [renewed cheers]. I feel confident that if we had taken up our right position then—that if dissenters had followed out as dissenters their principles then, we should not be under the necessity of meeting here now to expose and protest against such a measure as this [hear, hear]. I have made up my mind, and I avow it here, that I shall say nothing against minor grievances—I will co-operate with no party, henceforward, that will not go at once to the root of the matter [loud cheers].

The Rev. J. L. POOLE seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

MR VINCENT, who was present, being recognised, and loudly called for, addressed the meeting with great power and effect for nearly an hour, after which the vast assemblage dispersed.

MR VINCENT AT MANCHESTER.—On Tuesday evening the 9th inst a lecture was delivered by Henry Vincent at the Corn exchange, Manchester, on civil and religious liberty, in connexion with Sir James Graham's amended Factories bill. There was a very large and respectable attendance, including a good proportion of ladies. William Lockett, Esq., boroughreeve of Salford, was called to the chair, and briefly introduced the lecturer to the meeting. Mr Vincent was most warmly received, and his lecture was frequently interrupted by the most stirring ap-

plause. We are unable to do more than give an extract or two from his eloquent lecture as reported in the *Manchester Times*. He commenced with a reference to religious liberty and its real import, and proved that no religious liberty could really exist in a country where a state church was maintained. After dilating upon the subject, he passed on to civil liberty—

Civil liberty he held to be that which gave to every citizen an equality of rights. Civil governments were rendered necessary, not by the goodness but the badness of mankind. If every man was guided by morality, and the sacred precept which taught that “we should do to others as we would be done by,” it was clear that any civil laws and regulations would be unnecessary; because every man would carry in his own bosom that self-regulating principle which would suffice for the good of the community. Civil governments, then, properly speaking, were a kind of police force designed to protect the weak from the aggressions of power, to correct abuses, and provide, as far as human forethought would admit of it, such laws for the regulation of the state as will be conducive to the greatest happiness of the greatest number [hear, hear]. Governments, then, had nothing to do with making laws regarding trade and commerce—[tremendous cheering]—nor yet with the people's religion [renewed and prolonged cheering]. It was not within the province of government to prescribe how one class of men should live, or how another class should not live [cheers]. It was never designed that the government offices should become a sort of large kitchen, in which it should be prescribed how different classes of people should boil their apple dumplings [laughter and cheers]. Nor was it expected that government should stand in the position of parent to the infant mind, or that it should interfere in the slightest possible degree with those religious convictions which, springing from heaven, can only be controlled by Him who gave them [loud cheers]. He contended that it would be better to leave to the fire side, with its tender endearments and affectionate intercourse, that delightful instruction to the young, which came from none so well as the mother. Let it not be objected that there were mothers unfitted for the task; it was no argument for a government having so misused its powers by acts of tyranny and oppression, as to superinduce a state of depravity and moral degradation that we should consent to the infliction of a measure to correct one evil which would assuredly engender a greater evil still [hear, hear].

In reference to the views and intents of the church he said—

They had too many indications of what was designed by these instructors of the people to be in doubt; but if anything were wanting from public sources, it was supplied by the speeches of these gentlemen in their private meetings [and he read over and commented on the sentiments of the different speakers, as expressed at the late meeting of the Chester Diocesan board of Education—we give one sample], at which Sir Edward Cust, Bart, had thus expressed himself:—“He thought that the doubts which were permitted to be raised against this proposition [the proposition for a system of education under the control of the clergy] had arisen in consequence of a misunderstanding as to the position in which the church stood with respect to the people. He held it to be an undeniable truth that the church of England, in the realm of England, was no sect [laughter]. It was not even a new building raised up from the ruins of previously existing edifices [renewed laughter]; it was the old building from which the ivy had been stripped [laughter], and into which judicious repairs and improvements had been introduced with no desire to make it otherwise than it always was [roars of laughter], and to introduce every reform consistent with its primitive constitution.” “The church of England was not after any man [laughter]; it was neither of Paul nor Apollon [great laughter, and cries of “hear”], nor Cephas, nor Wesley [“No,” and cheers], nor Luther, nor Calvin [more “noes,” and renewed cheering]; it was the national establishment of the realm, created so by the legislature [derisive cheers and laughter], established by act of parliament, and known as such by law as fully and completely as the *habeas corpus*, or the trial by jury [cries of “Oh, oh”]. Here, then [said Mr Vincent], we have the ground and foundation of this beautiful church laid bare to us—it was “made by act of parliament!”

“I thank thee, Jew,
For teaching me that word!”

The act of parliament that made can *unmake* [tremendous bursts of cheering, renewed again and again]; and the day may be nearer than is dreamt of when we may find it necessary to exercise its powers. The real church is based on a rock which is not of earth, and it can never decay; but the churches made by act of parliament shall totter and fall [renewed and long-continued cheering]. He, for one, gloried in the belief that the present age was pregnant with its destruction; for he looked upon its fall as upon the removal of a structure which had long hung like an incubus upon the spiritual energies of the land, and as tending to open up a far more extensive field for our Christian exertion on the voluntary principle [applause].

Mr Vincent concluded as follows:—

The whole bill is fraught with mischief; it is intended to strike at the political liberties of the people, as well as the liberty of conscience [hear, hear]. They feel that we are advancing to a better state of things; that there is a kindlier feeling springing up between the middle and the working classes of this country—that there is a prospect, at no distant day, of a common bond of union being discovered in the recognition of the equal rights of all; and the government party feel this, and they desire, by means of this bill, to get hold of a part of the education of the people to prostrate the growing desire of a large class of our countrymen for an enlarged state of freedom [cheers]. Let us remember that we have a great duty to perform in connexion with this important measure; remember that you are not merely to ask yourselves the question, “What shall we do?” but be up and doing; remember your fathers who were trodden down and trampled upon; recollect John Milton and Sir Harry Vane, and those men who boldly maintained that religion was not of human law or authority; that religious equality is the foundation of the progress of the human mind; that civil equality is the means of procuring civil and religious liberty, and be not unworthy of the men who have transmitted to you your present share of religious liberty; but rather struggle to get rid of this bill altogether; let a voice go up; let Manchester speak out to-morrow night, and let the word be, “Away with the bill” [great applause]. Let this be done, and I hesitate not to believe that Sir James Graham will falter in his attempt to pass this measure; that before the third reading takes place he will be pale and quivering in his place in parliament; he will quail before a spirit greater than that of Cromwell—the spirit of civil and religious liberty thundering against the doors of rotten St Stephen's chapel, and he—[the loud burst of applause that followed this was tremendous, and completely drowned the rest of the sentence]. The period we live in is pregnant with great events; and this very bill, so far from causing us to despair, ought to cause us to rejoice, not because they have been bad enough to propound it, but because they have let out their own real sentiments—and now that we know them we have but one resolution, and to send our resolve from one end of the nation to the other, all blending together in one harmonious cry for that civil and religious freedom which is yet to save our country from destruction [applause]. Think not that we are opposed to education. I would that all classes were educated; I would that the poorer classes were educated as they ought to be; I would that a commission of inquiry should be issued to inquire into the morals of all and the education of all; and methinks if such commission were issued, we should find dark thoughts in the palace of the peer [cheers]. We need not go to the poor emaciated factory child; we need not go to the destitute hovel of the poor to find out their ignorance or misery; but we should find that a better system of education is needed for all classes of the community—but let there be a wide diffusion of light—the light of sacred and holy principle—the knowledge of everything that shall increase our civil and religious liberty; let the light be similar to that all-bursting light which filled the system of nature when this beautiful creation was bounding into lovely existence fresh from the Almighty hand, when he said, “Let there be light,” and there was light, even now, when man's destiny seemed encased in a cloud of oppression and wrong [cheers]. But there is this

period coming which Sir James Graham will not be able to extinguish, when bursting thoughts leap from heart to heart and from mind to mind—a creation ready to burst into a new and glorious morning; and rest assured that he is the truest patriot who seeks to expand the desire for that period, who says, “Let there be light,” and as this light beams forth upon the Christian exertions of those interested in the welfare of their fellow-creatures, burning from mind to mind and running from brain to brain, soon shall there be seen amid the radiating blaze of its glory, the civil, the ecclesiastical, and the commercial liberty of man [long-continued cheering].

Mr Warren moved a vote of thanks to Mr V., which was seconded by Mr Morris of Salford, and carried by acclamation. Mr Leese (of the firm of Leese and Kershaw) was then called to the chair, and the Rev. J. W. Massie moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr Davis, and agreed to. The proceedings lasted about two hours.

ANTI-STATE CHURCH MEETING AT LEEDS.—Our readers will perceive, from a notice in another column, that a public meeting is proposed to be held in Leeds in the course of next week (most probably on Tuesday, the 16th inst.), to petition against the educational clauses of the Factory bill, as “amended” by Sir J. Graham; and also for the separation of church and state, on the ground that “so long as a hierarchy endowed and patronised by the state shall be continued, the civil and religious liberty of the people of this realm will be incomplete and insecure.” We need scarcely say that we highly approve of the object of the meeting, believing as we do that the connexion between church and state lies at the root of most of the religious tyranny from which the people of this country suffer. It is an endless source of heart burning, strife, and contention, in the state; and is entirely foreign to the end of civil governments, which is simply the protection of all classes and conditions of men, no matter what their creed or form of belief. The demand for a separation of church and state, is especially pertinent at the present time, as it is the foundation on which Sir James Graham's Factory education bill is built. If the principle of a connection between church and state be granted, the government is not only justified, but bound in duty, to carry such measures as that proposed by Sir James Graham for the education of the people in the religion of the established sect. The only firm ground, we repeat, on which the Factory education bill is to be opposed, is that assumed by the three hundred requisitors on this occasion. It is the church and state connexion that holds the religious and the civil tyrannies of the day together; and till that connexion be severed, the religious and civil liberties of the people will be incomplete and insecure. We trust that the meeting of next week will be one of the largest ever held in Leeds; and that it will speak out boldly, decidedly, and unanimously, in favour of the great and fundamental principles of perfect religious liberty.—*Leeds Times*.

CARNARVON.—On Wednesday evening last, a meeting was held at the Calvinistic Methodist chapel, Penrallt, in this town, the Rev. John Huxley in the chair, and impressive addresses were delivered by Messrs W. P. Williams, Bridge street; R. Evans, Pool st; and W. Griffith, and the Revs. W. Williams, Pendref, J. Bryan, and J. Morris, against the educational clauses of the Factory bill, in their amended state. The meeting was opened with singing and prayer, by Mr Thomas Williams, of Rhyd-ddu, and a petition was unanimously adopted, condemning, in forcible and well chosen terms, the altered bill, and praying for its entire abandonment. It was also moved by Mr W. P. Williams, and seconded by Mr Robert Evans, that the account of the alterations in Sir J. Graham's bill, which was read by the Rev. Mr Williams, should be printed, and distributed throughout the country, to counteract the rumour gone abroad, that the alterations in this obnoxious measure are in accordance with the opinions of the numerous, influential, and respectable denominations of dissenters in the land. The large and commodious chapel was crowded to excess.

BURY, LANCASHIRE.—The government measure has met with strong opposition in this populous town, and in all the neighbouring places. At a great public meeting, resolutions, expressive of the most decided aversion to the educational clauses, were unanimously carried. Petitions from the town at large, and from all the dissenting schools and congregations, have been sent to the Commons, praying that the bill may be withdrawn. Sir J. Graham's amendments are considered as leaving the principle untouched. Again petitions are in course of signature, and renewed opposition seems to be unavoidable.—*Correspondent*.

DEVONPORT.—A large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Town hall on Wednesday evening, to consider the amended clauses of the Factories bill. C. Tripe, Esq., was called to the chair; and the resolutions and speeches were bold and uncompromising. The Rev. John Pyer was the first speaker, and ably exposed the bill, vindicated dissenters, and pointed out the dangers of church ascendancy. John Norman, Esq., the Revs T. Horton, W. Spencer, — Webster, and others, afterwards addressed the meeting. A petition was afterwards adopted against the amended bill, which, with the resolutions, appeared in our advertising columns of Monday.

On Saturday night two petitions from this town (Berwick) were posted against the Factory bill; one of these emanated from a public meeting held in Mr Peden's chapel, and has been signed by 720; the other was from the congregation of Zion chapel, and was signed by 167. Both petitions, as well as one from the Rev. Mr Grant's congregation in Tweedmouth, were presented by Mr Forster on Monday evening. Another petition, from the congregation of the High Meeting house, with 103 signatures attached, has since been forwarded to the same quarter.—*Kelso Chronicle*.

DUNDEE.—Sir James Graham's amendments are not giving satisfaction to the dissenting body throughout the country, and the dissenters' committee of this town have resolved to call another public meeting, on an early day, to give the inhabitants an opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the amended measure.—*Dundee Herald.*

The petitions presented up to the 2d inst., against the educational project in the Factory bill, numbered 11,611, and had the unprecedented number of 1,757,297 signatures.

FORM OF PETITION.—The following is the copy of a petition adopted by the teachers of the largest Sunday school at Leicester:—

"That your petitioners have examined the alterations in the educational clauses of the Factory bill, find that the principles of compulsory education; the unjust preference of one denomination to others; the augmentation of the power of the clergy; the right of government to interfere with the religious instruction of the people; the extension, at the expense of all, of doctrines of which many conscientiously disapprove—still pervade the measure.

"Your petitioners, therefore, strongly disapproving of these principles, pray that the education clauses may be entirely abandoned.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c."

MEETING AT EASTERN INSTITUTION, COMMERCIAL ROAD.—We have received a report of the meeting held at this place last Thursday, but it reached us at so late an hour, that we find it impossible to insert it. C. Hindley, Esq., took the chair; and Colonel Thompson, Sir G. Strickland, the Rev. G. Smith, the Rev. Drs Reed, Cox, and other gentlemen addressed the meeting. The amended clauses of the bill were unanimously condemned by all the speakers.

MISCELLANEOUS.—We have also accounts of meetings in various parts of the country, which the crowded state of our columns prevents us from doing more than mention. At Portsmouth, a meeting was held last Wednesday, at which it was unanimously resolved that congregational petitions should be adopted against the bill. The Wesleyan methodists and congregationalists of Liverpool have met and denounced the bill. On Friday night a numerous meeting was held at Eagle street chapel, Holborn, for petitioning against the bill, which was addressed by the Revs R. W. Overbury, Dr Cox, A. G. Fuller, — Wackett, and others. Meetings have also been held at Towyn, Colyton, Banbury, Colchester, Hull, Carlisle, and other places.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION.

At the weekly meeting of the Union, held on Monday last, letters were read from correspondents in Salisbury, Norwich, Sudbury, Manchester, Boston, and Bath. From these communications it appeared that the movement is making satisfactory progress. The following are a few extracts:—

MANCHESTER.—Mr Vincent, writing from Manchester, under date May 10, encloses a circular calling a few friends of the movement to hold a conversational meeting, which was cheerfully responded to. This circular was suggested by the enthusiastic reception which Mr Vincent's sentiments met with at a public meeting held on the previous evening in the Corn exchange. In reference to that meeting, Mr Vincent says—

"Our most sanguine expectations were exceeded. Never was the room crowded by a more influential audience. On the platform were the Rev. Messrs Nolan, Massie (independent); Davis and Thompson (baptist); Bakewell (methodist); and another minister, whose name I did not learn. The Boroughreeve of Salford occupied the chair. My sentiments were received with great enthusiasm, more especially those parts which referred to civil equality as the means of obtaining and perpetuating religious equality."

At one of the public meetings called to petition against the educational clauses of the Factory Education bill, Mr Vincent was called for by the audience and made a strong appeal on behalf of civil and religious liberty, denouncing at the same time our institutions of war.

By subsequent communications from Manchester the result of the conversational meeting is stated to have been most encouraging; and a machinery is now at work there which promises to be highly effective.

A correspondent at Norwich, under date May 12, says—

"The time has arrived for bringing our sentiments more prominently before our fellow citizens. The press of the town is opposed to us, but it is our intention to start a monthly paper in aid of the principles of complete suffrage and civil and commercial freedom. The leading dissenting ministers have promised their support, and there is every reason to hope that our attempt will be successful. Upwards of 100 electors have joined our association."

BIRMINGHAM COMPLETE SUFFRAGE SOIREE.

A letter was read from Col. Thompson, intimating his acceptance of an invitation to be present at the soiree on the 22nd inst.

The arrangements for calling a meeting of friends of the cause, to be held at Birmingham on the 22nd inst., at noon, were reported. The object of this meeting is to confer together as to the appointment of electoral committees in the midland districts, and other matters intended to promote the suffrage agitation.

The following General Report and the subjoined Cash Accounts were presented at a monthly meeting of the Complete Suffrage Union, held at the Public office, Birmingham, May 8th:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 30th APRIL, 1843.

THE National Complete Suffrage Union having now been in existence for one year, the Council feel themselves called upon to lay before the members a review of their proceedings.

In the formation of the Union there was everything to give promise of future triumph. At the conference of

delegates, held in April, 1842, there was assembled a large number of the most earnest reformers of the three kingdoms—their discussions were eminently characterised by candour, the absence of personal and party motives, discrimination of principles, and that true eloquence which springs from sincerity and benevolence. From this body the Council received their appointment, and nearly all the members of the conference have continued to give them their hearty support. In these circumstances it was no wonder that the trading politicians, who have so long governed this country, should take alarm at the formation of the Union, nor that the organs of party should unite in condemnation of the objects it was designed to promote.

The advocates, on the one hand, of expediency, and on the other hand, of violence—both saw that the reconciliation of the middle and working classes, upon the basis of great and virtuous principles, would be fatal to their own influence, and therefore, in strange combination, they joined to ridicule the suffrage movement. The Union, however, passed safely through the first stages of its growth.

Before the close of the month, Mr Sharman Crawford moved the House of Commons to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to take the subject of complete suffrage into consideration. The motion was seconded by Mr Daniel O'Connell, and received sixty-nine votes, including tellers and exclusive of pairs, in its favour, out of a total of 293.

This important division was very shortly succeeded by one of the most remarkable inquiries in which the House of Commons has ever been engaged. In May, 1842, Mr Roebuck laid a charge against several members of parliament, of having entered into corrupt compromises, for the purpose of avoiding investigations of bribery at elections. The searching inquiry which followed contributed, in no small degree, to awaken the country to a correct idea of the condition of parliament. A selection was made of six boroughs, in which to exhibit the working of the system. In these boroughs it was shown that about £50,000 had been spent at the last election. They contained about 9,000 electors, so that had every elector in these boroughs been bribed, each vote would have been remunerated with upwards of £5. By this inquiry the festering corruption of our present system of representation was laid bare, and the thanks of the whole community are due to the man who had ability and zeal enough to expose it. One of the worst cases was that of Nottingham—a bargain was made, or at least a compromise was negotiated by the whigs, for an actual transference of the constituency to the Tories. Sir George Larpent, the whig, resigned his seat, and a new election took place, at which it was intended that Mr Walter, the Tory, should be the only candidate. £4,000 were placed in the hands of stakeholders, as a pledge for his success. Happily, there were still virtuous and honest men in Nottingham, and they determined, though without, it was supposed, the least hope of success, to fight a battle for purity of election. They applied to Mr Sturge, the chairman of the National Complete Suffrage Union, to become a candidate. A few days discovered to them, that this shameless trafficking, of which they had been the intended victims, had roused such a feeling of indignation, that they resolved to vindicate their character, and to wipe out the blot of infamy by which the constituency was stained. Instead of merely setting up a candidate, it was resolved to make a serious effort to rescue the town from the hands which had polluted it. Such a trial of principles followed as had rarely been seen at any election contest. It was not until August 5th that the election actually took place, but in the meantime the whole country was stirred up. The Christian and philanthropic views which Mr Sturge's first address embodied, kindled sympathy among persons who were not previously the advocates of complete suffrage. Addresses were sent to the constituents from various parts of the United Kingdom. And when the day of nomination came, it may safely be asserted that so calm and dignified a statement of great principles, as was then submitted to the electors, had seldom been heard above the turmoil of party conflict, by which those occasions are usually distinguished. Mr Sturge obtained 1,801 votes. His opponent was declared duly elected by a majority of eighty-four, but was afterwards unseated by a committee of the House of Commons for bribery—the evidence in the report of the committee by which he was unseated having disclosed a system of bribery, on the part of the bribers and the bribed, of a most extensive character.

The reception of Mr Crawford's motion in the house of Commons in April, stimulated the council to suggest another division on the same subject. An opportunity was afforded upon the third reading of the Property and Income tax bill, on the 30th of May. Mr Crawford moved an amendment, to the effect that, inasmuch as the House did not represent the people, it was unfitted to impose any system of increased taxation. This was seconded by Mr O'Connell, and in a House of only 177 members, received twenty-one votes. On this occasion the council of the Union forwarded a circular to every member of the House of Commons, setting forth the following among other reasons, why the great mass of the people had ceased to regard that House as their representatives:—

- 1st. The history of the late elections.
- 2nd. The cruel and unjust wars in which the country had been involved under the pretence of national honour.
- 3rd. The whole course of legislation during the past, and more especially the present, session.
- 4th. The recklessness and levity by which the House of Commons was pre-eminently, and in the face of the world, distinguished.
- 5th. The late refusal even to hear the complaints of a suffering people.

The Southampton election immediately followed Nottingham. Lord Nugent and Mr George Thompson were the liberal candidates, the latter of whom acknowledged himself a complete suffragist. It is remarkable that Mr Thompson had only three votes fewer than his colleague, although it was alleged that his cordial profession of our principles might render him unpopular with a portion of the liberal electors.

Immediately after the second introduction of complete suffrage in parliament, an election took place at Ipswich. The council forwarded an earnest appeal to the electors, to support only such candidates as would advocate an equality of civil rights; which had the effect of inducing Mr Gisborne and Mr Moffat, the liberal candidates, distinctly to recognise that principle. Thus a great point was gained; and although these gentlemen were rejected, and the Tory candidates succeeded, the influence of their

manly decision was strongly felt throughout the borough, and its effects were most apparent, when, in the course of two months, another contest took place. Mr Vincent, at the earnest solicitation of a few independent electors, then came forward as the complete suffrage candidate, and, though a stranger to the constituency, without any previous preparation, and arriving in Ipswich only a few days before the election, he polled 472 votes. This was done in a town where professed liberal candidates have spent thousands of pounds, and, after all, polled only about 500 votes. It was fairly considered a great moral achievement. More recently Mr Vincent contested the borough of Tavistock in opposition to Mr Trelawney, and succeeded in polling 71 votes out of 184. The successful candidate on the hustings, after the election, said—"I am gratified at the conduct of my hon. opponent throughout this contest. So nearly do my opinions accord with Mr Vincent's, that had he been first in the field, I should not have opposed him; on the contrary, I should have wished to see him in parliament. At the same time, gentlemen, I do not blame him for his opposition, because he is the representative of a great and growing party, and it was his duty to ascertain how many of the electors of Tavistock were prepared at once to give that party their support" [loud cheers].

While these elections were in progress, the doctrines of complete suffrage were rapidly extending; the Rev. H. Solly, Mr Henry Vincent, and Mr Charles Clarke, accepted appointments as lecturers for the Union. Early in July Mr Vincent visited Scotland. At Edinburgh, a crowded meeting was held in the large church in Richmond place, to welcome him, and a still larger number attended his lecture in St Cecilia hall, two nights afterwards. Nearly 1,000 electors of Edinburgh soon after became members of the Union. The principles of the Union also appeared to take deep root in other towns in Scotland, especially at Aberdeen, 300 electors of that city having become members of the Union soon after its formation. In other parts of Scotland Mr Robert Somers delivered numerous lectures. He was cordially welcomed, and the principles he advocated were most heartily responded to.

In the west of England Mr Charles Clarke and the Rev. Henry Solly lectured with great effect. Nor would the Council be doing justice to themselves and the cause they are anxious to promote, were they not to express their deep sense, also, of the invaluable services of the Rev. Thos Spencer, of Hinton, Bath who, from the first, warmly supported the movement, and has latterly delivered numerous lectures in London, Norwich, Leeds, and several other towns, with great success.

In the midland counties, numerous associations were formed. At Leicester, the first monthly meeting of the local union, held in the Town hall, was devoted to a discussion of the practical question "whether complete suffrage would relieve the distress of the nation;" and at the close of a highly interesting meeting the affirmative was unanimously adopted.

Before the various unions thus established had become effective, the whole attention of the country was concentrated upon the manufacturing districts of Staffordshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. Disputes about wages led to an extensive refusal to labour. At first there was much sympathy with the turn-out; but in process of time, acts of violence were committed; and although the retaliation was most severe, those acts changed the current of public feeling. For many weeks, in most of the disturbed districts, much alarm prevailed, although the respect for life and property, on the part of turn-outs, with the exception of one district, was very remarkable. Reckless partisans attempted to fix upon the Complete Suffrage Union, the Anti-corn-law League, and the political principles they embodied, the charge of having instigated the disturbances. But their object failed. The record of this fearful period yet lives in the thoughts of many an honest patriot; and the question has passed through many minds—what were the causes of the outbreak, and where will these things end? The answer is being gradually given out by religious and reflective men, who are from time to time declaring their adherence to the doctrine, that an equality of civil rights is the only safeguard of a nation's peace.

During the excitement which attended this outbreak, the Council of the Union convened a conference of delegates, to confer on the specific course of conduct which the friends of peaceful reform ought to pursue. That conference was not held, circumstances having occurred which rendered it expedient for the Council to postpone it. On this occasion the Birmingham town hall, which is under the control of a self-elected body of commissioners, was refused for the purposes of the meeting. The circumstance is remarkable, inasmuch as it furnished a pretext for no less than four subsequent refusals, although the reason first given—that of apprehended excitement and danger, has long since passed away.

A somewhat similar proceeding to the refusal of the Birmingham town hall occurred at Derby. The theatre in that town was engaged for a lecture by Mr Vincent. A few of the magistrates sent down a posse of constables, who actually turned the people out of the building. This wanton attack upon the lawful expression of opinion created a great excitement in that town, and an admirably reasoned protest was presented by a deputation of the middle classes to the mayor and magistrates, who were specially assembled to receive it. This spirited and dignified rebuke no doubt contributed to prevent similar aggressions elsewhere.

In September the Council determined to convene a national conference, to consolidate union among all classes, and to agree upon the details of a bill embodying the principles of complete suffrage, to be laid before parliament. They felt impelled to take this course by several considerations.

1st. They thought the mere announcement of a conference calculated to allay the feverish and dangerous excitement of the public mind.

2nd. They believed it would be necessary at a very early period to be prepared with a specific measure to propose to parliament.

3rd. They were anxious that the country should have an opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with their ultimate objects, and the proposed modes of attaining them.

4th. They desired at once to ascertain how far the radicals of Great Britain were prepared to co-operate with them, or whether they would adhere to existing organisations, and if so, with what views.

5th. They sought a public opportunity of disclaiming any connexion or sympathy with the advocates of physical force.

A few days after this important decision the Council

were cheered by the announcement that the Leeds Parliamentary Reform association had resolved itself into a complete suffrage union. At the close of the parliamentary session a banquet was given at Edinburgh in honour of Mr Sharman Crawford, and the members who supported his motion for complete suffrage. This meeting was attended by several of the English members of the Council. Some of these gentlemen attended meetings and delivered addresses in several other towns on their way to and from Edinburgh, and the principles of the Union were thus extensively disseminated. After the banquet Mr Crawford visited Paisley, Stirling, Dundee, and Glasgow. At Paisley an overwhelming meeting was held at the Laigh kirk, over which the provost presided. A majority of the magistrates of the town were present, and took part in the formation of a union. At Glasgow a second banquet took place. A large body of influential men assembled to do honour to the doctrine of political equality, founded on Christian principles. The able and disinterested services of Mr Crawford on this and many other occasions are gratefully appreciated by the Council, and by the friends of complete suffrage in every part of the kingdom. The clear and lucid exposition of our principles by which his addresses have always been characterised, cannot fail to be productive of the best effects upon all classes of society. In connexion with these meetings, Mr Vincent and Mr Collins visited several other towns in Scotland. Mr Sturge and Mr Albright visited in England and Scotland fifteen towns, and attended twenty meetings. Never did political movement appear to spread more rapidly. One remarkable circumstance attracted the attention of the gentlemen who undertook this tour. Everywhere they found the friends of the temperance reformation, and the independent minds among various religious communities, standing forth as supporters of their cause. All the banquets were conducted on the temperance principle.

The month of October had now arrived. The effects of the Staffordshire turn-out were beginning to show themselves. Instances of magisterial tyranny were continually brought to light. Many subjects pressed upon the consideration of the Council. They divided the kingdom into ten districts, in most of which superintendents have been appointed, with whom to hold direct correspondence. The appointment of these superintendents has greatly strengthened the Union, and the thanks of all its members are due to the gentlemen who accepted the office, and have faithfully discharged its duties.

Preparatory to the municipal elections in November, the Council issued an address, calling upon the local constituencies to elect as town councillors the advocates of complete suffrage. This course they felt to be of vital importance, and they still vindicate it, although it has excited some opposition. It is a great practical error to entrust power to any man who refuses to acknowledge the inherent right of all his fellow men to self-government. And certainly such a man ought not to be placed in a situation where he is to direct and regulate public movements, levy taxes, and control the police. It is highly important that the town councils, from whom are selected the mayors, and sometimes the magistrates, should be such a body of men as can safely be entrusted with the preservation of the public peace, under any circumstances of excitement which the prostrate and unnatural condition of our country superinduce. Reflections like these led the Council to take a strong view of the necessity which lay upon the advocates of complete suffrage to select only candidates who hold the complete suffrage principles for municipal duties. They are happy to find that their suggestion was extensively acted upon at the November elections, and they hope it will be still more extensively followed this year.

When these elections had passed over, attention was directed to the December conference. The first election of delegates to that conference took place at Birmingham, where the Council had to encounter an organised opposition to their plans from men who professed an identity of principle with themselves. At this meeting it became evident that an intention existed to make the conference the arena of a struggle for party. Unhappily the then existing apathy of the middle classes, occasioned chiefly by the violent conduct of some professed chartists, gave success to this attempt. For a considerable time it was doubtful what would be the result of the elections throughout the country, but a number of persons were returned to the conference, professing to be delegates within the spirit of the invitation which had been issued, but who were pledged to support the people's charter, both in its name and details, against any measure which the Council might propose. In these circumstances, the conference met on Tuesday, December 27, the numbers present being 374; and although the preliminary proceedings passed over quietly, and, to a considerable extent, gave promise of satisfactory results, it soon became evident that the conference was composed of elements that would not sympathise. This was realised at the evening sitting on Wednesday, when Mr Beggs of Nottingham made a motion declaratory of the fundamental principle of the Union, and proposing that the draft of a bill drawn up by the Council should form the basis of discussion in detail; which motion was opposed by Mr Lovett, of London, who moved an amendment to the effect that the "people's charter," and not the "complete suffrage bill," be taken as the basis. On a division the numbers were—

For the original resolution	94
For the amendment	193
Absent	73
Declined to vote	14

In recording this division, the Council have no wish to review the debate by which it was preceded; but would simply state the fact, that the minority, conceiving the amendment to be at variance with the conditions on which the conference had been summoned, and opposed to the specific business which it had met to transact, resolved to separate from the majority, and meet by themselves. The chairman intimated this resolution to the meeting. The minority met on Thursday, at the Temperance hotel, Moor street, where delegates to the number of ninety seven assembled, and unanimously elected Mr Sturge to the chair. Before proceeding with the business of the conference a resolution was passed, enunciating the grounds on which the separation had taken place, and the basis on which the conference, as composed by the minority, would act. The business then proceeded, when, on the motion of the Rev. T. Spencer, seconded by Mr T. Anstie, it was unanimously agreed, "That the draft of the bill prepared by the Council" should be laid on the table. On the motion of Mr Vincent seconded by Mr John Collins, the people's charter

was also laid on the table, to be considered in connexion with the bill, together with "an act of parliament to reform the representation of Scotland." Major Cartwright's bill to amend the representation, and a pamphlet, entitled, "Our Representative System." The bill was then discussed in committee, clause by clause, and on Friday was reported, with amendments, and ordered to be printed. Several resolutions were passed in furtherance of the objects of the Union, and the conference separated on Friday night. The proceedings from first to last were of the most agreeable and encouraging character; and, though consequent upon a disunion which, in the circumstances, was unavoidable, it is confidently hoped, will tend to the establishment of the complete suffrage movement on the most solid and permanent grounds.

The Council, after the conference, set themselves to bring the bill which had been prepared by the conference to the notice of parliament and the public. They put themselves in communication with Mr Crawford, who consented to adopt this bill as the one which he would propose to the House of Commons, in compliance with the notice of motion given by him on the 27th of July, and which had not yet been discussed. They prepared a full abstract of the bill, and forwarded a copy to every member of the House of Commons, and to the editors of the entire liberal press, besides great numbers circulated in other channels. They also sent copies of the entire bill to a large number of members of parliament.

The year 1843 commenced with the introduction of a new machinery for diffusing information on complete suffrage. The Council decided on making use of the press in a mode which had not yet been directly acted on. Five or six valuable tracts were put into the printer's hands, and the list is now more than double that number. The advantages of this system cannot be too highly estimated. The tracts find their way to quarters inaccessible to other agency, and they are deliberately read and thought upon. Thus principles are planted, and become steady in their growth. The tracts, too, serve for reference—they faithfully expound the objects of the Union, and save it from many of those misapprehensions which frequently surround similar bodies. On the whole, the Council look upon the tracts as among their chief auxiliaries, and would urge their friends to encourage their circulation as widely as possible.

In concluding their report, the Council would advert to several important proceedings which have taken place in their own body, and which have not come under review in their historical summary of the year. These have reference chiefly to a strong recommendation by the Council to electors, to vote only for complete suffrage candidates at parliamentary elections—an address to the reformers of Great Britain and Ireland—and the preparation of a ballot box.

With regard to the first subject, the Council feel that they cannot urge too earnestly the recommendation to electors to vote only for complete suffrage candidates on the occasion of parliamentary elections. This is the vantage ground on which the great struggle must be made. If ever there was a time when it might have been expedient to concede a point, without a sacrifice of principle, if thereby an evil might be averted and an advantage gained, that time has gone by—our only hope now being in the return of men who will honestly, fearlessly, and perseveringly contend for a full, fair, and free representation of the people. By taking this high ground, and maintaining it, trimming politicians will soon cease to contest the field, and men of Christian principle will find less difficulty in securing a place in the representation. On such men our hope is fixed. In connexion with this subject, it is worthy of special notice, that at the recent election for Nottingham, but for the determination of the president of the Union to stand again, if no other complete suffrage candidate came forward, the borough would have been contested by a whig. It is now represented by Mr Gisborne, who holds the principles of complete suffrage. A vacancy having occurred in the representation of the city of Durham, Mr James Williams, of Sunderland, announced himself as a complete suffrage candidate, but afterwards withdrew in favour of Mr John Bright, of Rochdale, who held the same principles, and polled very closely on his tory opponent—another gratifying proof of the progress of the movement in this cathedral city.

The address to the reformers of Great Britain and Ireland will, it is hoped, be the means of arousing them to a sense of their duty and responsibility at the present critical juncture in the affairs of our country, and lead to more decided and persevering efforts than have yet been put forth in the agitation of the suffrage movement.

With regard to the ballot box, the Council have to state, that one has been prepared upon a simple and ingenious principle, has been examined by a great number of members of parliament and others, and is allowed by all who have seen it to be capable of affording every security which can possibly be desired.

Thus much for the past—what is to be done hereafter? The retrospect is pleasing; but it would be folly to overlook the fact, that at the present moment the agitation for the suffrage is but yet putting forth the promise of its strength. This, the Council believe, does not in any degree arise from a want of confidence in the principles and objects of the Union, but rather from the large share of public attention which other questions of interest and importance necessarily engross, and, perhaps, in some measure, from the apathy of the more timid of our friends, who hesitate to throw themselves unreservedly into the breach between the oppressors and the oppressed. But the time for action is at hand. The progress of events clearly indicates the approach of a political crisis, for which the friends of the people cannot be too well prepared. In the mean time, the Council look upon the signs of the times as encouraging, and recommend that every opportunity be embraced to spread a knowledge of the principles and objects of the Union—convinced, that when the public mind is once fairly enlightened, public opinion will be more than equal to the overthrow of a system of legislation, opposed alike to the principles of justice, and the claims of benevolence and truth. The immediate agency by which this great end is to be attained, must be used by the electoral body. They possess the power, if they will, to save the country from ruin. They must be prepared to use it. No better means, whereby it may be put forth, can be devised, than the organisation of election committees. The council would impress upon all the friends of the suffrage the necessity of taking immediate steps for their appointment. The plan has been partially put in force already in the north of England, where the Chairman of the Union and Mr S. Crawford recently made a tour,

and committees were appointed in Leeds and Newcastle. The result of the Salisbury election, where, it is said, a hundred voters refused to poll because the liberal candidate would not support complete suffrage, is in itself a strong proof that such committees ought to be immediately formed in every town and county throughout the land. They cannot be too speedily nor too numerous multiplied. By diligent and persevering exertions, the present registration lists may be effectually purged, and the number of complete suffrage electors sufficiently enlarged, to exercise a commanding influence when circumstances arise to call it into operation. It ought never to be forgotten, in all our exertions to promote this great and growing movement, "that less than eighty thousand electors, in the cities and boroughs of England, have the power to break down the influence of that proud aristocracy which enslaves and oppresses them. Let their domination over the county representatives be neutralised by the return of 250 members from the towns of England, and it remains only that eighty more votes be obtained from Scotland and Ireland, and the glad shout shall be heard—"Britain is free!"

The Treasurer of the National Complete Suffrage Union for the year ending April 8, 1843.

Dr.	£. s. d.	Cr.	£. s. d.
To Received—		By Paid	
For cards	155 5 3	For printing	112 15 1
Donations	302 16 0	Traveling expenses	
Tracts	2 15 6	of lecturers, &c. 194 13 9	
		Incidentals, including nearly £50	
		for postage	92 16 0
		Office and salary	96 5 0
		Draft of bill and attendant expenses	33 5 0
		Balance	1 1 11
	£460 16 9		£460 16 9
To balance	1 1 11		

Examined and found correct,

JAMES C. PERRY.

GEORGE GOODRICK, Auditors.

Cr. Outstanding accounts, about £970.

OLDHAM.—On Friday night Henry Vincent gave his second lecture in the Town hall, Oldham, to a very numerous audience. The platform was crowded by a respectable body of the middle classes. The subject was "the impossibility of securing the benefits of religious and commercial freedom without complete suffrage." The meeting seemed heartily to coincide with the sentiments advanced; and a vote of thanks was unanimously given with considerable enthusiasm.

MANCHESTER.—On Friday night Mr Vincent met a select number of the friends of complete suffrage, in the room of the association, Brown street, and briefly addressed them on the importance of active steps being taken to organise Manchester and the vicinity; Mr William Perkins occupied the chair. The meeting was unanimous in an expression of approval to what Mr Vincent advanced. Arrangements are made for Mr Vincent to lecture publicly on complete suffrage, on Monday and Thursday in Manchester, on Wednesday in the Town hall, Salford. From the interest felt in Mr Vincent's addresses on the education question, large and respectable audiences are expected. The suffrage movement will now be pushed vigorously in Manchester; and the letters that pour in from the surrounding towns bespeak the interest that is rising on the question. At the great meeting against Graham's bill on Wednesday last, Mr Vincent referred to universal suffrage, amidst tumultuous cheers. In short all things are furthering the advance of democratic principles.

BRADFORD COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.—This body is neither dead nor sleeping, though it is not making great noise at present. It is gradually growing in numerical strength, though its growth has been considerably impeded by circumstances which, we trust, will soon be removed. Hitherto the association has not had a "local habitation," and of course one of the bonds of union of such associations has been wanting. It is probable that this desideratum will soon be supplied. The association have resolved to procure a large room in the town, in which to hold regular and occasional meetings, and have been looking at the room some time occupied by the Swedenborgians as likely to suit their purpose. They held a meeting in that room (at the bottom of Kirkgate) on Thursday evening, at which a committee was appointed to revise their whole regulations, and to re-organise, upon a more efficient plan, the association. This committee consists of the following persons:—Mr Cook, of Horton college; the Rev. — Griffiths, of — chapel; Mr W. Whitehead, Mr Walker, Mr Isaac Rowntree, and Mr Billingsley. Should the association take the large room alluded to, they intend to deliver a regular course of lectures therein to their own members, and most likely the public will be admitted upon certain conditions. So the work goes on—if not so bravely nor so rapidly as some of its more ardent friends could wish, yet still it goes on; and while the surface of things is violently agitated by anti-corn-law leaguers, anti-factory bill-ists, and so forth, the complete suffragists are labouring away at the root and source of all governmental evils. They deserve success, and if they persevere they will find it.—Bradford Observer.

DISSENT, FREE TRADE, REPRESENTATION.—Let there be no more one-sided philanthropy, no more exclusive preferment of respectability of opinion, no more class distinction and purse superiority; but if reformers would ever hope for triumph, let them imitate their enemies in at least one respect—a union of thought and action. This is the secret of their power and our impotency; and till dissenters, corn-law repealers, and suffragists be as one man, the factions may and will ride rampant and roughshod over our heads. If dissenters dread the power of the mammon church of England, if they would crush this national

mockery of heaven, if they hope for liberty to worship God in conscientious purity and truth, let them unite with all honest men. If the friends of free trade would unhackle commerce and bring comfort to the poor man's home, let them join the franchise movement ere it be too late—ere ruin has done its work, and the energies of the country sacrificed and sunk into hopeless and helpless despair. Anxiously are the advocates of equal representation waiting their co-operation, and there is not a grievance of the one or the other but complete suffrage will remove. While the complete suffragist demands nothing which reason or Christianity can refuse, they seek the good of all by giving to all their rights, not that they may be better fed, as animals, but that the people may be raised from their present state of serfdom and inferiority—that they may be recognised as citizens and as brothers, and that, as a nation, we may thereby bear testimony to the truth of God's declaration that all men are equal, and that he hath made of one flesh and of one blood all nations of the earth.—From the *Aberdeen Review*, a new paper recently established in that town, and a warm advocate of complete suffrage.

STREET, NEAR GLASTONBURY.—Mr Clarke has delivered two lectures to the inhabitants of Street, upon the principles and objects of the Suffrage Union.

BIDFORD.—Mr Clarke met the members of the Complete Suffrage Union on Monday last, at their rooms. He delivered an address, in the course of which he pointed out and defended the course pursued by Mr Sturge and his friends at the conference meeting in January. At the conclusion of his address, which was warmly received, Mr Northmore moved, and Mr Phelps seconded, the following resolution:—

"That this meeting fully approve of the measures taken by Mr Sturge and his friends at the late Birmingham conference, and do resolve to support them by all legal and constitutional means to obtain a full, fair, and free representation of the people."

This resolution was opposed by two O'Connorite chartists, one of whom proposed as an amendment, "That the meeting disapproves of the course taken by the complete suffrage section of the conference." The amendment having been put to the meeting, was supported only by three persons. The resolution was carried.

General News.

FOREIGN.

AMERICA.

The Britannia steamer, which arrived at Liverpool on Monday last, brings three weeks later intelligence from the United States.

The accounts from Washington relate exclusively to the expected retirement of Mr Webster from the office of secretary of state, and the changes in the cabinet which that resignation would make necessary. One account states that he has actually resigned, whilst another says that he will not quit office until the pending negotiations between the United States and Great Britain shall have been brought to a close.

There had been some discussion about a reciprocal commercial treaty between the two countries, the basis of which should be a mutual diminution of duties, but not much faith had seemed to be felt in the States of the practicability of such an arrangement.

The spring trade had opened with unusual vigour; still business was rather limited. The commercial community seemed to move with caution, and mercantile operations were likely for some time to be confined to the legitimate wants of trade.

The Canada papers contain accounts of the installation of Sir Charles Metcalfe, at Kingston. The addresses to his excellency, on assuming the government, and his replies, are published in the papers. He had not developed the line of policy he intended to pursue. His predecessor, Sir Charles Bagot, had so far recovered as to be able to walk in-doors. He would return to England as soon as his health would permit. The Wasp, Lord John Hay, had arrived at New York to convey him home.

The *Montreal Herald* announces, that hereafter Montreal will be the seat of the government of Canada, and the necessary government offices, and a parliament house, will be commenced as soon as the plans can be prepared. Quebec will be the military headquarters.

Accounts from the city of Mexico of the 22nd, and from Vera Cruz of the 28th of March, had been received at New York. A violent attack of fever on the 21st had made Santa Anna take to his bed, and apprehensions as to the result were felt. On the 18th he had issued a decree, that the wars against Texas and Yucatan were national contests, and should be carried on till both Texas and Yucatan submitted. Extra pay and honours are to be allowed to all who signalize themselves in it.

Accounts from Yucatan brought a rumour that the Mexican troops had pushed on to Merida, the capital, which would, it was feared, fall into their hands. Campeachy still held out.

From Hayti we learn that the city of St Domingo surrendered to the forces of the new government on the 30th of March, after a slight affair, in which 10 or 12 persons only were killed. Since the abdication of Boyer the administration of a provisional government had prevailed, as there had not been time for choosing a president.

SPAIN.

The *Madrid Gazette* of the 10th instant published the decree of the Regent, appointing the following ministers:—M. Lopez, president of the council and minister of justice; M. Aguilar, minister of foreign affairs; General Serrano, minister of war; M. Frias,

minister of marine; M. Ayllon, minister of finance; M. Caballero, minister of the interior. M. Lopez ranks among the Exaltado fraction of the Progresista party. In the programme which he submitted to Espartero, and which, it appears, obtained his sanction, he specified "the propriety of compensating the innocent sufferers at Barcelona, of granting a general amnesty for all political offences that had occurred since the termination of the civil war, the eligibility of Spaniards to all public employments (whatever their political opinion), and the absolute independence of Spain from both French and English influence." The Lopez administration had received a promise of support from Messrs Cortina and Olozaga, who were determined at any price to exclude the Ayacuchos from office; but this support, it was believed, would only insure to it a very precarious existence.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

STATE OF PARTIES IN SPAIN.—Spain has its ministerial crisis; and it is much to be feared that it will endure as long as the Queen's minority, for no statesman commands a majority; those nearest to a majority can only acquire one by the aid of the Regent, and he mistrusts them, not without reason. No one of them values power for the present, for this power, if it can be called such, is provisional, attended by want of funds and want of influence. All turn to worship the sun that is to rise when the Queen becomes of age. To be their minister, or to wield power in other capacity, to negotiate the Queen's marriage—these are the objects after which people struggle. They despise the present, and accordingly the present is a perfect chaos. The coalition care merely for preventing the Regent from consolidating his power. The moderados confine their views to this aim. The extreme liberals under Lopez seem driven by pique and caprice without object or compass. In this state of things a satisfactory government is impossible. Espartero may succeed in keeping his aids-de-camp and friends in possession of office; but they will be so powerless even though in office, and such continued objects of obloquy, that it were better for them they were out.

FEARFUL ACCIDENT.—A frightful accident happened at Marseilles on the 1st of May. A grand display of fireworks had taken place, and the last portion was a representation of a volcanic eruption. A very large number of persons had been attracted to the plain St Michel by the entertainment. The *Sud* estimates the number at 60,000. After all was over, the people began to crowd hurriedly through the gates, which were very narrow, and the consequence was that many were knocked down and trodden under foot, and some lost their lives. Seven, severely wounded, were carried off to the Hôtel Dieu; one of them, a woman, died next morning. The number of those who received bruises and contusions was very great, and a great many had their clothes torn from their backs, and presented after the distressing scene, a most deplorable appearance.—*Gazette des Tribunaux*.

A court for the decision of quarrels between literary men, publishers, &c., has been established at Stuttgart, and has succeeded so well that the example is about to be followed in Leipsic.—*Athenaeum*.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

THE FACTORY BILL.—A meeting of the millowners' merchants, and others from the manufacturing districts, took place at the British Coffee house, on Tuesday week, to consider the effects of the new Factory bill of the Tory government. Mr Hindley, M.P., General Johnson, M.P., Mr W. Fielden, M.P., Mr Brookes, Mr Rand, Mr Kay, Mr Stansfield, Mr J. Fielden, Mr Morris, Mr Walker, and numerous others, were present. A long discussion took place, after which the meeting was adjourned to the following day. On Wednesday, after a lengthened deliberation, the following resolutions were come to:—

"That the Factory bill now before the House of Commons proposes for all children, from 8 to 13 years of age, enactments which have a direct tendency to prevent their obtaining employment." "That no valuable moral results can be obtained, or domestic duties properly performed, where the labour in factories is 12 hours daily, exclusive of meals." "That the labour in factories be uniform, and reduced to within reasonable limits, so as to accomplish this desirable object."

It was also proposed to hold another meeting yesterday, to which they had invited those M.P.'s, whose constituents are interested in this question.

SOCIETIES, &c.—The friends of the Merchant Seaman's Orphan asylum dined at the London tavern on Tuesday week, the Earl of Haddington presiding. The subscriptions of the day amounting to £332. The Protestant association met at Exeter hall on Wednesday; Mr Plumtre, chairman. The report detailed the presentation of between two and three hundred petitions to parliament, and the distribution of 167,952 tracts and 2,300 volumes. The receipts for the year were £1,500, the debt of the society £300. The foundation of the Magdalen hospital was celebrated on the same day at the Albion tavern, in Aldersgate street; Lord Skelmersdale occupying the chair. The Saint Ann's School society dined at the London tavern, with Lord Morpeth at the head of the table; the donations of the evening, headed by the Queen and Queen Dowager, amounted to more than £1,000. The anniversary festival of the Sons of the Clergy took place at St Paul's Cathedral, on Thursday. The fifty-fourth anniversary of the Literary Fund was celebrated on Wednesday, at the Freemason's tavern. Several handsome donations were announced; among them, the Queen, 100 guineas; the Emperor of Russia, 1,000 silver roubles (£155 18s. 6d.); and Baron Brunow, 10 guineas; the American Minister, 10 guineas; the Duke of Sutherland, £100; the Archbishop of Dublin, 10 per

cent. on his works, £8 18s. 6d.; total £800. The Naval and Military Bible society assembled at the Hanover Square rooms on Tuesday, the Marquis of Cholmondeley in the chair. The society had distributed 11,472 bibles and testaments in the year: the receipts, including a bequest of £500 from Mr T. Walker, were £3,251; the expenditure £3,220. [A somewhat strange anomaly certainly is this society. Perhaps its members are not aware of the denunciations of war that are contained in the pages of scripture, or they would scarcely be inclined to put into the hands of soldiers the book which best exposes the sinfulness of their calling.]

CHAMBERLAIN OF LONDON.—Contrary to general expectation Sir William Heygate, after two days polling, took the lead of Sir John Pirie; and, as his majority continued to increase, Sir John resigned on Thursday afternoon; the numbers at the close being for Heygate 2,238, Pirie 1,852.

THE COLOSSEUM.—This building was brought to the hammer at the auction mart last week. The biddings commenced at £10,000, and the property was ultimately knocked down to a gentleman of the name of Giraud, of Furnival's inn, for £23,000 guineas.

THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE CONFERENCE.—At the meeting of the Conference on Thursday, Mr John Bright said that the executive committee had, after mature deliberation, resolved to submit the following resolution to the Conference:—

"That this conference has observed with great satisfaction, that the Council of the League has commenced a system of registration of members of the League throughout the kingdom, and they desire to express their belief that it is of great importance that this registration should be made as universal as possible, in order that the organisation of the League may include the whole people of the United Kingdom; and this Conference, therefore, strongly recommends to the Council the prosecution of the League registration in a manner commensurate with the vast interest, and with the great and increasing power at its command."

They intended to extend this registration equally into the agricultural as well as the manufacturing districts. The advantages of such a movement must be obvious. Much of their power lay scattered in all directions, which by such a system they would be able to avail themselves of. Mr Lawrence Heyworth moved the second resolution—

"That, in connexion with the registration of members of the League, this Conference is of opinion that some plan may be devised by which weekly, or monthly, or periodical subscriptions may be obtained to secure permanent funds, by which the great contest for the rights of industry may be speedily brought to a successful issue, and this Conference urges upon the Council of the League, the importance of an early attention to the subject." The Rev. Mr Linwood of Mansfield seconded the resolution. Mr Plint moved the adoption of a petition repudiating monopoly in all its parts, and declaring against all, whether upon articles of manufacturing or agricultural industry. Other meetings have since been held, but nothing of any importance has been done.

The weekly meeting of the League was held on Friday evening in the English Opera house. There was, as usual on these occasions, a numerous audience. On the stage were the deputies from all parts of the United Kingdom, now assembled in London to watch the debate in parliament on the repeal of the corn laws, and a great number of the most active friends of the cause in the metropolis. Mr Bright was the principal speaker, and at the close of his address, started off for Dorsetshire.

On Saturday a second meeting was held in the same place, which was densely crowded. Mr Fox and Mr Cobden were the principal speakers. The latter referred in forcible and severe terms to the proceedings of the monopolists in the House of Commons that morning.

A FREE TRADE HALL IN LONDON.—The Anti-corn-law League, unable to obtain the further use of Drury lane theatre, and also denied the use of Covent Garden theatre, are now advertising for tenders for a plot of land, in a central situation, containing from 2,000 to 3,000 square yards, for the purpose of erecting a free trade hall in the metropolis, from which no petty spite or malice will be able to eject them.

PROVINCIAL.

THE LEAGUE.—A deputation from the Anti-corn-law League, consisting of Mr Moore and Mr John Bright, paid a visit on Wednesday to High Wycombe, and addressed a large and influential audience, a great portion of whom were electors of the borough, in the Town hall. An amendment was proposed by Mr Robert Wheeler, but on its being put to the meeting only two hands were held up in its favour. A memorial, calling upon the borough members to record their votes in favour of Mr Villiers's motion was then agreed to, and the meeting separated.

AGRICULTURAL MEETINGS.—The Chelmsford Farmer's club met on Friday, the 5th inst., to consider the intended bill for introducing wheat from Canada. Sir John Tyrrell, M.P., attended as a member of the club; and endeavoured to prove that the bill would not be so very dangerous to British agriculturists as many feared. Other gentlemen took an opposite view; and after a long discussion, in which Sir John was put upon his defence, and very hard put to it, resolutions against the bill were adopted. The East Essex Agricultural society met at Colchester on Saturday, for a similar purpose, and adopted a petition against the bill. In compliance with a requisition signed by upwards of 830 persons, the High Sheriff of Berks has convened a meeting at Reading, for the 20th inst., to consider the present state of British agriculture.

DORSET.—A meeting of about 3000 farmers of this county assembled on Saturday morning to hear an address from Mr Cobden on the subject of the corn laws. That gentleman, however, in consequence of the protracted debate in the house of Commons, not

being able to attend, Messrs Bright and Moore supplied his place. Some disturbance was attempted, but soon put down by the assembly, and a vote was taken, with only a couple of dissentients, for a total repeal of the corn law; after which a petition to both houses of parliament to the same purport was agreed to, and ordered to be signed by the chairman.

BRIBERY AT THE LATE DURHAM ELECTION.—With-in the last few days, as we are informed on authority that leaves no doubt of the fact, the great bulk of the electors who supported Lord Dunsannon at the late election for this city have received a sovereign each, as head money, in consideration of the votes they then so nobly recorded in his lordship's favour. That it will form matter for legislative inquiry, we venture to pledge ourselves. We shall be in a better condition to enter into the question more at large in our next, and in the interim we will content ourselves with stating that a petition to parliament is in progress representing the circumstances, and calling for investigation, which cannot be granted without establishing the delinquency of the tory party, nor refused without convincing every man that the charge is true.—*Durham Chronicle*.

A plan of considerable magnitude has been set on foot, and will soon be carried out on the Birmingham railway, for the improvement of the men employed upon it. A library is being formed, consisting of works of a moral, historical, and religious nature, for the use of the porters, policemen, &c., upon that extensive line. There are about twenty-two stations, and forty volumes will be assigned to each station, to be changed as soon as they have been read through. The plan has been made, and is being carried into execution, by the company's chaplain at Wolverton, the central station of the line, where a great number of workmen are congregated, and where considerable improvement has already been effected.

LOW PRICE OF PROVISIONS IN THE PRINCIPALITY.—Fresh eggs are now selling at seven for twopence, or forty-two for a shilling; salmon trout, nine for sixpence; best fresh butter retail, 10d. per lb.; potatoes, six lbs. for one penny; a quarter of veal costs only 2s. 6d. Rent is at the same low rate as livings, and clothes of the native manufacture cost next to nothing.—*Welchman*.

IRELAND.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.—In consequence of the declaration made by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, on Tuesday evening, the proceedings at the meeting of the Repeal association excited unusual interest. Mr Langtree, a protestant, rose to thank the association for admitting him a member. He said that he was always opposed to Mr O'Connell's opinions until a very late period. He came forward this day in consequence of the late proceedings in the houses of parliament [cheers]. Mr O'Connell said he never rose to address the association with greater pleasure in his life. He proceeded to attack ministers in the strongest language.

When the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel read, on Tuesday night, the addresses of the Lords and Commons to William IV., pledging themselves to maintain the union inviolate, they studiously avoided the passages wherein they pledged themselves to remedy all the just causes of complaint of the Irish people. They well knew that their grievances were not redressed, and that the solemn pledge of King, Lords, and Commons, had been broken. But did Wellington and Peel renew this promise? Not they. They promised nothing, and they were the boys to keep their words [laughter]. They did not renew this declaration. If they did, the Irish people would treat it like chaff [hear, hear]. It was said that some strong measures were to be introduced. They might annihilate the constitution, to be sure; but before they did he would go to the house of Commons and divide upon every sentence and every clause of any coercive measure that might be introduced [loud cries of "hear," and cheers]. They might trample him under foot, but he would do his duty, and come back to Ireland, and well he knew that Ireland would do her duty [great cheers]. They might suppress this association, but they could not make a law that would gag an individual, and keep themselves from being disgraced in the eyes of Europe. Yes, as long as there was a foot of the constitution left he would place his foot upon it as an Archimedean point, and struggle to uphold the fading liberties of his country [great applause]. It was said the Queen made a declaration against the repeal—he did not believe it—the Queen made no such declaration—it was made for her by her minister [cheers]. She was about to visit Ireland, and he was delighted at it—all the walls of every city and town through which she passed should bear the word "Repeal." She should hear the shout of repeal on all sides. Not a day should pass over that petitions, bearing hundreds of thousands of signatures, praying for repeal, should not be put into her hands [cheers]. Let her once consent to it, and in twenty-five minutes the union would be repealed [cheers].

Mr Steele rose and said—Sir Robert Peel talks of civil war; let him try it if he dare [here the meeting rose in great excitement, and cheered for several minutes].

REPEAL MOVEMENTS.—The "great" repeal meeting on the Curragh of Kildare, was held on Sunday, the 7th instant; the chairman was Mr Gerard Aylmer of Painestown. It is stated that about 70,000 or 80,000 men were present. Police and military were near to prevent any possible breach of the peace; none, however, occurred. Mr O'Connell addressed the immense assemblage at some length. On Saturday Mr O'Connell left Dublin for Mullingar, where he is to attend a repeal meeting and dinner.

Lord Ffrench has attached his name to a requisition for a repeal meeting and a dinner to Mr O'Connell, in Athlone. His lordship has written to Mr Murray, the secretary, consenting to preside. "It is cheering (says Lord Ffrench) to contemplate the rapid and majestic progress of the repeal movement."

Mr T. O'Brien has been elected mayor of Dublin for the ensuing year.

MR BRUNEL.—We are gratified in being able to announce that the life of this eminent engineer is now placed out of all danger, the coin having been dislodged from the windpipe on Friday afternoon, in the presence of Sir Benjamin Brodie and Mr Aston Key.

ROYAL VICTORIA AND ALBERT YACHT.—On Friday morning this splendid vessel, which is intended for the special use of her Majesty and Prince Albert, was hauled into the East India Export dock, and a great number of men were immediately set to work to complete her fittings, which will be finished in the most superb style. Her engines are of 650 horse power, and will be fixed by Messrs Maudslay, the celebrated engineers of the Westminster road, and every exertion is making to get her ready in time for her Majesty's intended visit to Ireland in the course of the present summer.

SUGAR DUTY.—All lady housekeepers ought to know that the price of monopoly sugar (which, alone, we are allowed to eat), is now 34s. 9d. per cwt., or 3d. per lb. (besides duty); while equally good sugar might be had for 18s. per cwt., or 2d. per lb. This last sugar is indeed brought into England, and converted into fine lump sugar, but is then sent to the negroes, who pay only about 5d. per lb. for it. We must not taste it, nor preserve our fruits, nor make home wine with it. We can only use it (even in the raw state) on payment of a duty of 6d. per lb.

A commission of various scientific individuals has been appointed by government for inquiring into the present state of large towns and populous districts in England and Wales, with reference to the causes of disease among the inhabitants.

THE AERIAL MACHINE.—We are credibly informed that this seeming impossibility has been to a certain extent accomplished. Mr Henson, the inventor, after the most indefatigable and praiseworthy perseverance, constructed a model machine on the scale of an inch to a foot, and succeeded so far as to leave no doubt of its ultimatum. At the trial, which took place a few days ago at the Hippodrome, the machine flew about eight hundred yards, and perfect control was maintained over it, the depression and elevation being managed skillfully. There were a number of wealthy and scientific gentlemen present, who expressed both their surprise and admiration at the experiment they had seen. Another trial on a more extensive scale will shortly be made under distinguished patronage, and we understand the government has offered every encouragement for carrying out this extraordinary phenomenon. The inventor, it is understood, has met with patronage and assistance from a gentleman named Marriot.—*Observer*.

MISS MITFORD.—We are happy to find that the subscription raised for relieving the difficulties of this amiable lady has been so far successful. In a letter to the Rev. William Kinsey, acknowledging his kind interest on her behalf, the talented authoress writes:—"You will, I know, be glad to hear that things are going on well, so far as the subscription is concerned. The debts are all paid, and there will be some hundreds surplus, which was what my friends wished in their kindness; for my own part I was ever more set upon the payment of the debts, but now both parties are gratified."

A startling fact was announced at the meeting of the poor-law guardians at Cork last Monday—that they were £30,000 in debt, £10,000 of which was due to the treasurer; the fact being that the collectors cannot get in the tax.

Father Mathew, who is still pursuing with unabated energy and success his career of mercy in Ireland, is expected to visit England next month.

Out of every 1,000 children born in the poorer districts of Leeds and Manchester, 570 die before they attain the age of five years.

LONGEVITY OF WOMEN.—According to recent statistical investigations, it has been ascertained that there died, throughout England and Wales, between 1st July, 1840, and 30th June, 1841, 5,247 females, aged 85 and upwards; whereas of the same age, there died only 3,964 males, leaving a balance in favour of the old ladies, of 1,293. Among the females who died, 71 had passed the age of 100, but only 40 males.

Postscript.

Wednesday, May 17.

MINES AND COLLIERIES ACT.—In the House of Commons last night, the first business of importance was the motion of Mr Cumming Bruce for leave to bring in a bill to amend Lord Ashley's act of last session, for regulating the employment of young persons in mines and collieries. He gave due credit to the motives by which Lord Ashley had been actuated, though the purity of his intentions was not a sufficient protection from error in judgment. The Mines and Collieries act was a hasty and injudicious piece of legislation, and it had produced great distress in Scotland, by depriving individuals of employment for which they could obtain no substitute; and, though he did not wish to interfere with the act, so far as married females and young persons were concerned, he wished to amend it, by permitting widows and unmarried females, above eighteen years of age, to return to under-ground labour. Lord Ashley, Sir James Graham, Lord Francis Egerton, and others, defended the Mines and Collieries act, and Mr Hume, Mr Roebuck, Mr P. Stewart, and Mr Forbes supported Mr Bruce. On a division the motion was lost by 137 to 23.

NAVAL LISTS.—A further debate took place on a motion, by Sir C. Napier, for an address to her Majesty, praying that provision might be made for old naval officers, in order to make room for younger and more active men. He especially wished that the head of the Admiralty should be a naval man, and that that department should be rendered independent of political influence. A short discussion ensued, in which the leading men on both sides of the House took part; and after cases of alleged promotion in that department, on political grounds, had been

advanced by the opposition, and as resolutely denied by ministers, Sir C. Napier withdrew his motion.

EDUCATION.—Lord J. Russell postponed his motion "for supplying means to the education committee of the privy council to maintain training and model schools, to grant gratuities to deserving schoolmasters, and to afford aid to schools established by voluntary contribution," until this day fortnight.

SERVIA.—The Levant mail has arrived. Constantinople letters of the 27th state that Cara Georgevitch refuses to obey the injunctions of Russia and of the Porte to resign. He declares he will defend his rights to the last. The Porte has yielded the demands of Austria relative to her steamers.—*Chronicle*.

SPAIN.—The Madrid Gazette of the 10th contains the official appointment of the Lopez cabinet. The *Heraldo* says that Lopez has offended Pita, the moderado, of the coalition, and had offered in vain the foreign affairs to Cortina. Caballero is considered the chief of the new ministry.

The *Smyrna Journal* of the 28th ult. mentions that a fire broke out at Magnesia, on the 20th, which consumed 2,000 shops of the grand bazaar. Most of the goods were saved, but the losses were nevertheless estimated at several millions of piastres.

ANTI-CORN-LAW CONFERENCE.—The closing meeting of this body was held yesterday at Herbert's hotel, Palace yard, P. A. Taylor, Esq., in the chair. A spirited address to the people of England was adopted by the delegates, and various resolutions passed in reference to the position of the question. Mr Villiers, M. P., said it was acknowledged on all hands that it was now a fair fight between a class and the rest of the community. Mr Cobden said the League would now concentrate their efforts on the electoral body, that they would continue their visits to the agricultural districts, and that should they only convert a sufficient number of electors, they would have a dissolution of parliament before next year. After addresses from Mr Hume, and Mr M. Phillips, the following resolution was passed:—

"That the conference recommends the League forthwith to commence a registration of the electors of the kingdom, in order to be prepared, at the earliest possible period, to call upon the Queen's advisers, through the constitutional means of a humble memorial to her Majesty, to dissolve the present parliament, and thus afford to the constituency an opportunity of revising their late division upon the question of the corn law."

After other resolutions, embodying votes of thanks, the conference was dissolved.

WOODBIDGE.—On Monday evening, May 15, a public meeting was held in one of the independent chapels of this town, to petition parliament against the amended Factories bill. The various dissenting denominations of the town united in a solemn and earnest protest against this most invidious, unjust, and unconstitutional measure. If the further agitation of this question should operate elsewhere as it has here, dissenters may owe a debt of gratitude to Sir James Graham, for not at once abandoning the scheme. Whenever the speakers referred to the probability of this measure issuing in the demand, on the part of dissenters, for the separation of church and state, the sentiment was promptly and warmly cheered.

HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Last evening the twenty-fourth annual meeting of this society was held in the large room, Exeter hall, Alers Hankey, Esq., in the chair. The Rev. Dr Matheson read the report. During the year thirteen new missionaries had joined the society. There were 70 missionaries and 158 agents in connexion with it, and ten students were preparing for the missions. The schools amounted to 210, having 13,000 scholars. During the year sixty-one new stations were formed, having 655 preachers teaching 50,000 people. The receipts were £7,788, and the expenditure exceeded £9,334. The report having been adopted, Doctors Morison, Burnet, and other ministers, addressed the meeting; after which, and a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

IRELAND.—REPEAL.—The weekly meeting of the Repeal association was held at the Corn Exchange, Dublin, on Monday. Mr O'Connell said—

"The English newspapers talked of a civil war; but he could tell them that while he lived, there should be no civil war—we shall not go to war—we shall take a legal stand, and if they invade us then that would not be civil war [cheers]. I promise them, said he, there is not a Wellingtonian among them less disposed to shrink from such a contest, if they enforce it upon us, than I will be [protracted cheers]. He held out no threat, but a threat of attack he would treat with defiance" [cheers]. He announced, amid the reiterated cheers of the assembled meeting, that the repeal rent for the week amounted to £696 12s. 4d.

THE MULLINGAR MEETING.—The *Pilot* says, that at this repeal meeting there were present upwards of one hundred thousand persons. Mr O'Connell was attended by Mr Steele, Mr Barrett, and Dr Cantwell, the bishop of Meath. In the evening a public dinner took place.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—It may be held as all but certain, that the secession will take place on Thursday next. After the length to which the more zealous of the non-intrusion party have persisted matters, it cannot be avoided with any consistency. We learned, a few weeks since, and have since heard the report confirmed in various quarters, that there will be no formal division, but that one of the leaders of the party will, in the name of the others, solemnly protest against the constitution of the church, as now construed by the state, and thereupon they will leave the assembly hall.—*Caledonian Mercury*.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

A moderate supply of English wheat, and small of foreign; a little more money asked, but not obtained.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"W." would have been inserted, but for want of room.
 "E. P." The time is not yet ripe for the discussion of that subject.
 "J. B. Smith." It will perhaps be the wisest course to abstain from forwarding separate petitions against the state church until the Factories bill is disposed of, when it is hoped some simultaneous movement will be made in that direction.

We have received several communications, which, in consequence of the crowded state of our columns, we must defer inserting until next week.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1843.

SUMMARY.

It is about time for nonconformists to be on the alert—for state ecclesiasticism is bearing down upon them by no less than five routes. The church of England turns aggressor, and, as of old, proclaims "war to the knife" with all dissentients. It is very presumptuous, as we said last week, taking up the lesson set us by Lord John Russell—it is uncharitable, withal, to condemn men's motives, and above all the motives of cabinet ministers. They mean no harm whatever to dissent. They are not aiming at objects which are not patent upon the very surface of their professions. It is no intention of their's to give dominancy to one sect over all the rest. On the contrary, we dare say, they seek the consolidation of our religious liberties—only they go about it in a somewhat novel manner. The road they take is a circuitous one to the end they have in view, and leads us much nearer to the confines of spiritual despotism than is agreeable to our own taste. Five distinct measures, so framed as to throw additional power into the hands of the clergy—creating amongst them about fifty thousand new offices, to each of which salaries and fees are to be appended, not one of which is to be accessible to a dissenter—the Factories Education bill, that for the education of paupers, the bill for the endowment of clergy in populous districts, the Health of Towns bill, and the Church Maintenance bill—these must be regarded as unequivocal exponents of the desire of ministers to promote freedom of conscience. Who can call in question their religious views? Where is the cynic that will hint at the multiplication of ecclesiastical places and patronage as offering a probable explanation of the sudden spiritual zeal of the cabinet? No! No! Dissenters are expected by their *quondam* leader, Lord John, to lie down and be—gulled, or surely he would never have essayed to vindicate the motives of men, whose acts all run in an opposite direction.

Dissenters, however, are in no humour to be gulled. Happily they have waked up from guilty slumber, and are putting forth their strength with an energy worthy of the glorious cause for which they stand sponsors. Sir James Graham's "olive branch" has not calmed excitement, as the records of our own columns will suffice to demonstrate. On the contrary, agitation deepens, and the object towards which it gradually turns, and upon which it will ere long, we hope, roll a resistless flood, is, not the removal of an existing or menaced grievance, but the dissolution of that unholy alliance between church and state which is the source of all grievances affecting religious liberty. Public feeling points in this direction. It becomes, therefore, our duty to put dissenters on their guard. In the present juncture of affairs it is not unlikely that adventurers, aiming to turn excitement to a profitable account, may project a *society*, the professed object of which shall be, the realisation of our fondest wishes. In the absence of any knowledge on this point, we give our advice the more freely. Our counsel to dissenters is, "Mistrust all societies." They have been our ruin in times past. They do little else than create offices for needy agitators. We must avoid this blunder in future. A representation of the whole dissenting community, fairly chosen, meeting for a limited time, and then returning to their constituents, can alone avail us in this crisis. No other plan will effectually destroy what we take leave to designate the clique-ocracy of dissent.

The time for such a step, however, has not yet arrived. Dissenters must first, if possible, frustrate the insidious designs of those who hope to crush them. We must have a second edition of the 13,000 petitions—an immediate and effective demonstration against Sir James Graham's amendments. Up, then, nonconformists of every de-

nomination! You have dealt one stunning blow against encroaching priestism. Up, and repeat it! Let every congregation and every Sunday school protest against the cheat which men in power would put upon us. Further, let ever complete suffrage association send up to the House of Commons an energetic petition against this new infringement of the spirit of freedom. The aid they offer, they will find returned with interest hereafter. Quick—quick—no time is to be lost!

And this brings us, by no forced march, upon the subject of complete suffrage. We commend to the careful perusal of our readers, the able and eloquent report of the council contained in our present number. We ask them whether the rapid progress of this movement, its peaceful tone, its directness of purpose, its wise selection of means, its noble comprehensiveness of principle, do not suffice to redeem it, at all events, from misrepresentation and obloquy. To its friends we have spoken more at large elsewhere. In this place we have only, after running over the annual report of proceedings, to tender to Mr Sturge and the council of the Union our most respectful thanks for the consistency, manliness, dignity, perseverance, calmness and courage which have distinguished their course, up to the present time. The nation is their debtor, to a larger amount than the nation will be likely ever to repay. Meanwhile, however, they have the best reward of sincere patriots—the consciousness of having laboured, not in vain, for their country's welfare. The result of the anti-corn-law debate, and the vagaries of ecclesiastical intolerance, will do much, we cannot doubt, to give a new impetus to the cause. To-morrow evening, Mr Sharman Crawford brings forward his motion for leave to introduce the bill agreed upon by the conference of delegates in December. Of course, his object will be defeated—but the subject will thus, at a most fitting and seasonable juncture, be forced once again upon the attention of the entire people.

Since our last, Parliament has been mainly occupied upon the subject of the corn laws. Upon the debate itself, we have spoken our sentiments elsewhere. It was distinguished, as anti-corn-law debates seem fated to be, by a scene. On Friday night, after Sir Robert Peel's abortion of a speech, an adjournment of the debate was moved. The motion was resisted with warmth. Then ensued a scene which beggars description—sounds which Mr Cobden properly characterised as "inhuman" filled the house—order, outraged by the violence of conflicting passions, fled—one county member, we are informed, danced before the bar and shook his fists in the faces of the free traders—the *fracas* became at last too disgraceful to bear the eyes of the public upon it—strangers were consequently excluded—and not until a late hour on Saturday morning was an adjournment of the debate agreed upon. Talk of the noise and turbulence of the complete suffrage conference—why, its proceedings were dignity and tranquillity themselves, in comparison of these. The debate was renewed on Monday, and was brought to a close without any further interruption than occasional groans and exclamations during the speeches of the free trade members. The landlord Parliament was wise enough to maintain something like a show of decency under Mr Cobden's withering exposure of their class legislation, rather than risk the additional odium of enacting such another scene as that of Saturday morning. The division, as was expected, showed a large addition to the anti-corn-law party; 125 voting for the motion, and 381 against it. The minority was, however, swelled by the votes of various whig members, represented by Lord Howick, who, though unfavourable to the total repeal of the corn-laws, were compelled, through fear of their constituents, to support Mr Villiers' motion.

Ireland, too, is in a ferment. Mr O'Connell has worked his repeal question until he has made it formidable to ministers. In both houses, on Friday evening, government declared its intention of putting forth the whole physical power of the empire, if necessary, to prevent the consummation at which the member for Cork professedly aims. We regret to see such power as O'Connell can command wasted in the pursuit of questionable ends. Ireland seeking, under his direction, her own exclusive emancipation, provokes upon herself the frown of power, and enlists, to a very small extent indeed, the sympathies of the truest reformers in this country. Ireland, banded in one league of brotherhood with England and Scotland, for the overthrow of aristocratic supremacy in all, would aid the movement towards good government with a giant's strength. Such an agitation might less suit the purposes of a dictator, but sure we are, it would far more certainly promote the advantage of the Irish people. We regard the repeal struggle as nothing more than a vulgar excitement of national prejudices—appealing to passions which no good man would wish to stimulate—involving no single principle which a noble generosity of heart could embrace. Mr O'Connell is playing off upon a susceptible people the worst cant of a spurious patriotism. He deserves to fail, and fail he will.

We must end with Baron Gurney—"O most

lame and impotent conclusion!"—the judge who seems to visit upon certain classes of prisoners the dissatisfaction and ill-humour which the recollection of his recreancy to early nonconforming principles genders in his mind. Mr Duncombe brought before the House, on Friday evening, the case of Jones, whom the Baron was reported by the *Morning Chronicle* to have treated with great asperity and unfairness, during his trial at Leicester. Mr Duncombe is represented as having failed to establish his case, and was prevailed upon to withdraw it. We have no wish to rip up a reputation already sufficiently seamed. Baron Gurney denies the accuracy of the *Morning Chronicle's* report: and one of his friends contrasts it with the report supplied, and the comments given, in the *Leicester Chronicle*, a paper favouring, he said, the political sentiments of the prisoner. The *Leicester Chronicle*, a chartist paper! Why, if there be one thing in this world it is more horribly afraid of than another, that thing is chartism. A candid representation of the matter was assuredly not to be sought in that quarter; and, for aught the public knows, the remarks of that journal may have been furnished to it by that very counsel engaged against Jones, from whose former speeches the prisoner would have quoted, but was stopped by the judge. We say not this in justification of the young and indiscreet agitator at the bar; but we would put our readers on their guard against hastily acquitting men in authority of the charge which *prima facie* evidence sustains—of having attempted, by an unwarrantable stretch of power, to undermine the landmarks of our constitutional liberty.

CAUGHT NAPPING.

THE termination of the Salisbury election, and the correspondence respecting it, to which we gave insertion in our columns last week, may serve, we think, to burn into minds hardened by scepticism a conviction, not only of the safety, but of the necessity, of dealing with Reform-club liberalism, in all future electoral struggles, as a nonentity—a pawn which it is impossible to play to advantage, and which, hampering as it does the freedom of our own movements, must be sacrificed at any rate. The determination to keep out a tory, for the sake of which lamentable compromises of principle have been submitted to in past times, no longer avails even for its professed object. Putting out of sight the entire agreement, within a few shades of opinion, between the two sections of the aristocracy, and looking at the matter in a practical light rather than in the light of principle, it is clear that whiggism, destitute of inherent vitality, and enervated by a long course of inconsistencies, is unable successfully to cope with the people's foe. Its trumpet call is no longer heeded—its rallying cry falls spiritless upon the ear of the nation. Beneath its banner it is found impossible to muster an electoral force strong enough, whether in numbers or in zeal, to stand the first shock of battle. *Men will not vote.* The contest between whig and tory ceases to engage their interest. It involves no single principle, to secure the triumph of which it is felt to be worth while to step across the threshold. That play, therefore, is played out. The sooner we abandon all semblance of carrying it on, the greater will be the probability of our escape from irrecoverable discomfiture.

These views we believe to be rapidly gaining ground among our constituencies. They have not, it is true, in many cases, been formally and publicly expressed. Hitherto the men, few, but influential, who have been wont to manage elections for the liberal party, and who tacitly claim, as a privilege exclusively their own, the selection of candidates for the boroughs in which they respectively exert themselves, have succeeded in preventing opinion, so hostile to their continued supremacy, from taking outward and permanent shape. The necessity for the immediate deposition of these leaders is not felt. A dissolution of parliament is looked for by none; and, whilst all would urge upon others the propriety of sleeping upon their arms, and being thoroughly prepared for unforeseen contingencies, few discern the importance of it in their own case. Hence, it is deemed to be virtue, decisive enough for all present demands, to cherish good intentions. Resolution, floating about unformed, like morning mist, gives nothing more than a shadowy promise of coming down, at some distant day, in tangible drops. The first appearance of a vacancy, it is thought, will operate electrically upon what is now little better than airy expectation, or, at best, vague talk; and it thus happens that the planning of the campaign is deferred until the period of action shall arrive, when instead of cool and steady effort, presence of mind will be lost, and everything will be done badly because done in a hurry.

It is far from our intention to dictate to constituencies the course to be pursued at the present moment. We imagine, however, that without undue assumption we may take leave to lay before them as succinctly as we are able, the reasons which induce us to conclude, that this is the right time for exertion, and that immediate steps should be taken, in every case, to invite and to secure

suitable candidates, to introduce them to electors, to get through the business of canvassing, and, with a direct and avowed view to a future struggle, to circulate among those who have the franchise, such information as may guide them to sound conclusions, and stimulate them to earnest co-operation.

Upon the uncertainty of all things falling within the range of the future it will surely be unnecessary to insist at length. The events which may open a vacancy in the representation of any particular borough are so numerous, and at the same time so utterly indeterminable by human foresight, that it becomes, on the part of every constituency, nothing more than the commonest prudence to take into calculation the possibility of such an occurrence. Remote as may be the prospect of a general election, where is the town sending a representative to parliament which is warranted in the presumption that it will not, long ere then, be called upon to exercise its right of franchise. Wisdom leaves nothing to chance. "Forewarned is forearmed." He who keeps a keen look-out on probabilities, and makes arrangements to meet them, converts every casualty into a stepping-stone by which to climb to the accomplishment of his purpose. The unlucky in this world, will always, upon examination, turn out to have been those who left to accident what they ought to have committed to the care of forethought. Sagacity, promptitude, and decision, make all circumstances subservient to their ultimate design; and upon the very billows which threaten to break over them are borne onward to the realisation of their projects. A general election may seem to be afar off—but is it so? Are there not agencies, various, conflicting, and potent, at work, which threaten to bring the existing parliament to a dead lock? The relative position of parties is without precedent. Never was legislative body so utterly at variance with the mind of the country, so distrusted by it, looked at with so little hope, with so entire a want of respect, as our present House of Commons. It is not for us to predict that its natural term of life will be anticipated. But no man, taking in view the forces now at work, ought to be surprised if, upon waking up some morning, he is told that the present parliament has been dissolved. Should that which is now a bare contingency suddenly and unexpectedly become fact, the party which is readiest for action will be correspondingly the most successful.

Little as it may argue for the intelligence and patriotism of our constituent bodies, experience has put it beyond doubt that, in election contests, it is half the battle to be on the ground first. There are, unhappily, too many electors who, when the field is once taken, possess neither reflection nor moral courage of a sufficiently decided order to reserve their pledge for the exigencies of the future. Under such circumstances the franchise is to them a privilege they are thankful to dispose of to the first comer, just as men who know not precisely where to put their hats are glad to hang them upon the first peg which happens to catch their eye. Most of these might be now secured in favour of complete suffrage. The reasonableness of our political doctrines, in the main they admit. The earnestness which intends at all hazards to achieve victory enlists their confidence. They would feel relieved at having cut short all future debate, by promising their votes before a plurality of candidates appears to distract their attention. In some instances engagements thus made may be broken; but usually they may be considered as a strong, if not a sufficient, guarantee that support, when required, will not be withheld.

There is a further consideration which ought, in our judgment, to have its due weight with constituencies. The political world teems with adventurers, hovering about in a state of unrest, in search of some convenient electoral body upon which to alight. These men, as they are in pursuit of no political principle, and seek only a quiet perch for their ambition, may be expected to avoid those localities already pre-occupied by a candidate professing democratic sentiments. As they can hold out no solid reason to counterbalance the obvious evil of dividing the strength of what is called the liberal party, they will be the less likely to disturb arrangements found to have been of some standing. Our early preparations will thus avail to prevent, in many instances, the nomination of half-and-half reformers; and the contest will be to the apprehension of all, what it is in fact, a struggle between the people and the aristocracy.

We have extended this article already beyond the limits we had originally intended, or we might with advantage have dwelt upon the wholesome and practical character of the agitation which the following up of the course here indicated is fitted to secure. This topic, however, we must be content to leave for the present untouched. Meanwhile we intreat constituencies to be on the alert. Let them organise election committees forthwith. Let them lose no time in betrothing themselves to right-minded and sound-hearted complete suffrage candidates. Let them employ the interval, whether longer or shorter, between this and a general election in bringing information, argument, and legiti-

mate appeal to bear upon electors; and then come what come may, theirs will be the satisfaction of knowing that they have foregone no one advantage by being "caught napping."

THE ANTI-CORN-LAW DEBATE.

THOSE of our readers who gave a candid attention to the remarks which we made some months since, upon the anti-corn-law agitation, and upon the extent to which it might be expected to act upon the present House of Commons, will now, we imagine, be convinced that our judgment was not far astray. The recent debate upon Mr Villiers' motion for an immediate abolition of the duties affecting the importation of corn, illustrates, more vividly than any representation of our's could do, the impracticability of those materials with which the League has ultimately to deal, and the utter hopelessness of converting to free trade doctrines, a parliament of landowners, whose seats were purchased expressly with a view to uphold their monopoly. The unexampled demonstrations of national opinion which the energy of the League has availed to procure, would seem to have had no other effect upon the majority of *quasi* representatives, than to stir up their bile. Ministers exhibit, as yet, no signs of giving way. The attitude taken by the landocracy towards the free traders is even less respectful than before. Unless our recollection fails us, there was sprinkled over the discussion of last week, a greater profusion of gibes, and taunts, and hard-mouthed assertions, and insolent iterations of "No surrender," than the last session's debates on the same subject exhibit. Over the parliamentary proceedings of last week there appears, to our view, an air of dogged and reckless defiance—a nation's hopes are trampled upon with that species of mad bravery which even moderate men regard as insulting—and the suppliant who asks nothing more than that he may be allowed to eat the bread of his own industry, is told, through grinning teeth, to begone, and content himself with the blessing designed for him by state ecclesiastics.

There is, perhaps, no deliberative body in the world, whose decisions are so little governed by argument as the British House of Commons—no audience before whom may be produced, in repetition so endless, statements which have a hundred times been proved to be false, calculations demonstrated to be incorrect, and reasonings shown to be inconclusive. The discussion upon Mr Villiers' motion brought out, as was truly observed by Sir Robert Peel, no novelties; but it squeezed even from himself sophistries so threadbare, so out-at-elbows, so miserably ragged and tattered, that one cannot but admire the impudence which could appear in them, for the hundredth time, before an intelligent public. Indeed, none of her Majesty's ministers, who took part in the debate, acquitted themselves with ordinary *eclat*. Mr Gladstone was rather pert than to the point. Sir Edward Knatchbull blundered out an admission, which will do irreparable mischief to the cause of monopoly; and Sir Robert Peel's performance appeared, for all the world, like a surreptitious and mutilated edition of his former speeches on this subject. The Anti-corn-law League may, assuredly, claim to have the best of the argument. Unfortunately, however, affairs are not settled in the house of Commons by dint of reasoning, but by a majority of votes; and where men are legislating for their own interests, it will take more ratiocination than we can compute the sum of, to prevail upon them to vote even an *abridgment* of their own income, and much less their own pecuniary ruin. We are not sanguine, therefore, of any essential change during the continuance of the existing parliament. All hopes, we should think, of the present House must forthwith be abandoned.

We trust we shall stand excused in the eyes of free traders for suggesting, with the heartiest good will, the course which strikes us to hold out the best promise for the future. We can easily understand how men, intent upon the accomplishment of a noble object, and conscious of the great and growing power of the party over whom they preside, should make as light as possible of defeat, and aim at the encouragement of hopes out of which alone the spirit of dauntless enterprise can be fashioned. Differing, as we have done, in some respects from the policy of the League, we can yet imagine the process of reasoning by which we suppose them to have been guided. Have not the friends of corn law repeal, however, stood on the present tack long enough? Is there not some danger now of running into shoal water? We are far from advising an abandonment of their ship; but we do submit to the consideration of those who stand at the helm, whether an alteration of her course might not be advisable? Would it not be better to let the public know that nothing can be anticipated from the present House of Commons—nothing, at least, adequate to the wants of the country? Is it wise to represent the existing machinery as likely, in any sense, to answer the people's wants? Far better, as it appears to us, because far more truthful, would it be to say, "We have laboured earnestly and to the utmost to bring over the House of Commons to our views. Reasonable as were our expectations, they have failed.

We shall continue to oppose the awful mischiefs of the food monopoly—we pledge ourselves not to rest until the crying evil is abolished; but we should only deceive ourselves and the country were we to express any confident hope that parliament as now constituted, will give the boon we ask."

One word more, and we have done. The motion of Mr Sharman Crawford for complete suffrage comes, most opportunely, close in the wake of this anti-corn-law debate. We are sure that the free-traders, who likewise embrace the doctrines of civil equality, will lose nothing to their own cause by giving their most efficient support to the member for Rochdale. Free-traders, dissenters, and complete suffragists, must understand each other. Let each party pursue its own line of march. Let each be ready on all fitting occasions to strengthen the others, and let all converge upon one point at the next general election. United, they will not be too strong for the aristocracy—divided, they will be an easy prey.

CITY STOMACHERS.

THE election of chamberlain to the corporation of the city of London, which has terminated in the rather unexpected triumph of Sir William Heygate, may be properly regarded as a contest of stomachs. The speeches of the partisans on both sides reminded us of the celebrated eating match between Grab and Guzzle—an inquiry respecting the progress of which brought out the following reply, "It's impossible to say with any certainty who will be the winner—both parties seem confident—but Grab is three ducks and a goose a-head of Guzzle." The municipal body confide their purse avowedly, and without mincing the matter, to the man who stuffs them with the largest quantity of edibles. Hence, we suppose, it is called a corporation. The duty of its functionaries is to feed it. Itself exists, seemingly, for no other—at all events, no higher purpose, than to digest meats and drinks—to be distended beyond all natural limits by repletion. It is the great glutton of the world—outlying in its own peculiar capacity the very Esquimaux, whose notion it is that happiness consists in being filled to the highest point short of suffocation with blubber, and being quietly left to sleep off its effects. We remember that, in our earliest school days, when little boys indulged themselves in wishes, just as half-famished beggars do when they look at smoking viands on the other side of a cook-shop window, a favourite wish with the urchins was that the room in which they happened to be assembled were converted into a plum pudding, and themselves obliged to eat their way out of it. The liverymen of London are grown-up children of the same taste. They aspire to be maggots. It is the business, one would imagine, of their whole lives to devour. The entire substance of the municipality must be transformed into pudding for the indulgence of their appetites. Man has been defined by some "a reasoning animal"—by others, "an animal who cooks his food." The last definition we should take to be the more correct one, for by the first, London liverymen are plainly excluded from the race. To be serious. The speeches of the gentlemen, members of the corporation, who respectively advocated the claims of Sir W. Heygate and Sir J. Pirie to official dignity, delivered as evidently they were without the smallest sense of shame, demonstrate the fatal success of a long course of sensual indulgence, in perverting every right feeling, and in reducing rational creatures to the level of the irrational. If the city corporation did nothing worse than train up members to cast a glory over gluttony and guzzling, it is high time that it were swept away by the besom of reform, as an intolerable and most disgusting nuisance. Its deeds and its professions put us out of humour with human nature. We are mortified to see how near an approach they, whom we must look upon as fellows, can make to swine.

DEATH OF LORD FITZGERALD.—This estimable nobleman breathed his last on Thursday morning, at his residence in Belgrave square. On Saturday he was attacked with bilious fever, under the effects of which his lordship gradually sunk. He was President of the Board of Control, Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Clare, and Colonel of the Clare militia. The Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Kilmore, his lordship's eldest brother, is heir presumptive to the title and estates.

Lord Ripon will probably supply the place of the late Lord Fitzgerald at the Board of Control; and Mr W. Gladstone will become President, instead of Vice-president, of the Board of Trade. This change will not cause a new election. Mr Gladstone will, of course, have a seat in the cabinet.—*Times*.

Major Fraser, who arrived last week from the East Indies, has brought magnificent presents for the Queen from the King of Lahore. They are worth about 12,000*l*.

George White, one of the chartist agitators, and formerly of Leeds, having been tried and convicted at Warwick of uttering seditious language, was sentenced on Monday week to be imprisoned in the Queen's prison for eight months.

THE SMALLEST HOMOEOPATHIC DOSE EVER KNOWN.—On Thursday last we read that Sir Robert Peel took the sense of the House.—*Punch*.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Bankruptcy act, for inquiry into, 3.
Canadian corn, against importation of, 45.
Church extension, 5.
Corn laws, for repeal of, 2678.
— for fixed duty, 1.
County Courts bill, against, 1.
Factories bill, against education clauses, 389.
— for further limiting hours of labour, 9.
— in favour of, 3.
Health of Towns bill, for, 2.
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) bill, for alteration of, 2.
Literary, &c., institutions, for exemption from rates and taxes, 6.
Machinery, for protection against, 3.
Mail coaches (Ireland), against late contract for, 5.
Malt tax, for repeal of, 19.
Medical profession, for inquiry into, 1.
Mines and Collieries act, for amendment of, 2.
Payment of wages in specie, for enforcing, 8.
Poor Law Amendment act, for alteration of, 3.
Poor Relief (Ireland) act, for repeal or amendment of, 6.
Postage regulations, for inquiry into, 2.
Property Tax act, for repeal of, 2.
Registration of Births, &c., act, for amendment of, 2.
St Asaph and Bangor dioceses, against union of, 10.
Sugar and coffee, for reduction of duties on, 1.
Turnpike Roads bill, against, 5.
Union with Ireland, for repeal of, 3.
Vestries act, for amendment of, 2.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILL PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.
Roman Catholic Oaths (Ireland) bill.
BILL READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.
Queen's Bench Offices bill.

MOTIONS.

Corn Laws.—"That this House will resolve itself into a committee, for the purpose of considering the duties affecting the importation of foreign corn, with the view to their immediate abolition."—(Mr Villiers.) The House divided; ayes 125, noes 381.
William Jones.—"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her Majesty's merciful consideration the case of William Jones, confined in her Majesty's gaol at Leicester."—(Mr Thomas Duncombe.) Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

DEBATES.

Wednesday, May 10th.

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

Mr MILES resumed the adjourned debate on Mr Villiers's motion, who argued against the views of the mover. He maintained the usefulness of remitting import duties when foreign nations refused to reciprocate that remission; and he warned the government against alienating their agricultural supporters by a system of injudicious concessions.

He trusted they would see, that although they might stifle and silence the country gentry to a certain extent, there had arisen among the farmers, and generally among those who employed the agricultural labourers, a determination to act for themselves, independently of the gentry and the aristocracy, and he hoped that the manifestation, the unequivocal manifestation of this determination would be a valuable lesson to the gentry, the aristocracy, and the government [loud cheers from the opposition benches].

Mr WARD contended that under the state of things which would exist with a free trade in corn, the revenue would be easily raised, because the people would be able to command more comforts, and to consume more of those commodities from which the customs and the excise collected their duties. True, other countries were hostile in their tariffs, because we had delayed too long. Had we begun a system of free trade in 1815, we might have commanded the trade of Europe. But though the friends of free trade were a minority in the house, the experience which they had derived from the history of great questions warranted them in assuming, with confidence, the certainty of ultimate triumph. Mr Gladstone had said, that to alter the corn law would not only be a breach of faith, but imbecility, on the part of the government. But there was a worse kind of imbecility, which knowingly pursued a wrong course. The right honourable gentleman's speech reminded him of Sir William Blackstone, as commentator, and as attorney-general; it was said of him that if you wanted to know the law, consult his book, but if you wished to learn how to evade the law, consult the man himself. So if you wanted to know what sound commercial principles were, read Mr Gladstone's article in the *Foreign and Colonial Review*; but if you wished to know how the same question may be degraded into a manner of expediency, look at his speech. Adducing figures to show the pernicious effects of the corn laws, he asked who gained by the system? Nobody: for to all classes it was a calamitous mistake. In addition to general reasonings, the honourable member went into detail on the condition of Sheffield; and called upon the House to regain the confidence of the people by wise and timely concession.

Captain FITZMAURICE said that if free trade was to be established, it was better to do so at once, than to keep the farmer trembling for his existence in the breath of popular agitation. But he believed that free trade would convulse the country, and he entreated the House to pause before it would accede to the motion.

Sir CHARLES NAPIER produced a table which he had prepared, in order to show the operation of the sliding scale, in excluding the distant ports of the United States, Egypt, the Black Sea, and Sicily, from the benefits of the trade. The sliding scale was as disadvantageous to agriculture as it was to commerce and navigation.

Mr A. B. COCHRANE descanted on the vacillating policy of the government, and expressed his belief that their concessions to the free trade agitation, by their alterations in our commercial policy, would give such an impulse to it, that in a few years there would be no corn law at all. He called on the agricultural party to be firm and united, for a great crisis was at hand.

Sir GEORGE STRICKLAND followed in favour of the motion, and Mr H. BAILLIE against it.

Mr GISBORNE was now come back to the House of Commons after an absence of two years, during which time his opinions had been receiving their impress chiefly from what passed out of doors; and nothing had struck him more in that part of the country where he had been living, than the deterioration in health and strength among the weaker part of the poor. He distrusted the late representations of improvement in the state of the country. Complaint had been made of the uncertainty in which the farmers were placed by the agitation of these questions, but that uncertainty was owing to the government, who would not declare how long they meant the present system to last, but kept their friends lying at single anchor. Much complaint was made of the Anti-corn-law League; but he could tell ministers how to get rid of it, namely, as in the case of the Catholic association, by granting what was asked. He was surprised at Mr Gladstone's argument that the people were better off than they were 100 years ago. It was not enough that they were better off; they had a right to benefit by the increased civilisation of the age in a fully equal ratio with the classes above them.

Mr COLQUHOUN, in reference to Mr Gisborne's denial of all modern improvement in agriculture, observed, that if there had been no such improvement, it was somewhat difficult to understand how 27,000,000 of men lived now in these kingdoms, where, 30 years ago, there lived but 16,000,000. On the continent each square mile now maintained 82 persons; in England 230; and he was not without hope that the next 30 years might produce as great an advance as the 30 preceding, if gentlemen would be content to cease from these movements, which must deter the farmer from investing his capital in improvements. He singled out and censured some expressions of abuse directed by Mr Cobden against the aristocracy of England.

Lord Howick desired to see a small fixed duty on the import of foreign corn, not on the ground of protection, for he considered that to be a robbery; but because he thought that such a duty would be a reasonable compromise of conflicting opinions, and a useful addition to the revenue. Still he would vote for the committee now recommended, because in such a committee, though proposed with a view to the abolition of all imposts, it would be open to any member of it to move the substitution of a fixed duty; and if he were unable to accomplish that, he should prefer even total abolition to the present system. He desired, however, to be understood that he would not pledge himself to maintain hereafter the opinion which he had now expressed in favour of a fixed duty. Every man must be convinced, that among the middle classes there was now a growing sentiment adverse to this law, produced, perhaps, by agitation; but still by an agitation which, consistent with constitutional principles, you could not repress. Public opinion was now coming round upon this subject; let the landlords then concede before it should be too late. They had better take care how they followed Sir R. Peel, who had always, as on the Catholic question, first resisted, and then, but too late, conceded. The first bad harvest would bring a total repeal, and the gentlemen opposite would therefore do well to compromise in time, and take a small fixed duty, for instance a duty of 5s.

Mr BLACKSTONE said that if he were to imitate Lord Howick, and to vote for the motion, it would be to go into committee, not to obtain a moderate fixed duty, but higher protection to agriculture than it at present receives. He was glad to learn from Mr Gladstone's speech that the government were now repudiating free trade doctrines, and were prepared to support the agricultural interest, the depression of which was now acknowledged. He admitted that free trade doctrines were spreading amongst the farmers.

The hon. gentleman the member for Stockport had boasted that he had obtained the adhesion of the farmers of those parts of the country which he had visited, and he (Mr Blackstone) felt bound to state, and he stated it with regret, that, in his belief, the hon. gentleman was correct in his statement in this respect [hear, hear]. He felt bound to state his conscientious conviction, that the changes which had been effected by the present ministry had been of such a nature in themselves, and had given the farmers of this country such an idea of the probable future operations of that ministry, that the whole farming and agricultural interest would rather at once see the end come than die by inches [loud cries of "hear, hear," from the opposition benches]. It was probably an entire want of confidence in the present ministry that had produced this opinion [renewed cheers from the opposition benches]; and there was another feeling growing up amongst these classes—a feeling which he deeply regretted—a feeling that they were being deserted by the persons to whom they naturally looked for protection and advice, namely, the resident gentry [hear, hear]. He had himself that day gone up to the high sheriff of Berkshire with a requisition upon the subject, and to that requisition no magistrate of Berkshire had affixed his signature [renewed opposition cheers]. But that requisition was upon the subject of protection to agriculture, the same ground upon which the country was appealed to on the last general election [loud opposition cheering]—that occasion upon which the gentlemen of each county were so ready to wait upon their respective tenants, and urge upon them protection to agriculture [cheers]. The farmers of the country, however, had now had enough of this sort of thing [hear, hear]; they had now determined to act for themselves [hear, hear]. There were in that house a great body of independent members who were prepared to say, "Thus far shall you go, and no farther." Those members were bound to recollect the assertions that they had made at the hustings, and they felt that it was their bounden duty in that house fairly, freely, and fully to represent the sentiments of their constituents who had done them the honour to send them there [hear].

Mr WALLACE hailed Mr Blackstone's "manly and honest speech," the like of which he had never heard from the ministerial benches. For himself, he was a straightforward repealer, and would be no party to any compromise of a fixed duty. The corn laws were doomed. Some personal allusions to the dissatisfaction of the constituents of the member for Argyle-shire called up

Mr CAMPBELL, who affirmed that his constituents were all, to a man, coming round to the opinion that the new tariff was a wise and necessary measure, and that before it passed the price of butchers' meat was

shamefully high, putting it out of the reach of the humbler classes. He was not afraid of the repeal of the corn laws, though he himself derived every farthing he had from land.

With regard to the anticipations of a repeal of the corn laws, I differ altogether as to the effect of such a step from those around me. I have no fear whatever of the repeal [loud cheers from the opposition]. I am confident that in a few years we must see that repeal, and, if gradually effected, I am prepared for it. I only fear the immediate and total repeal. I think the effect of such a step would be to paralyse trade; but I confidently look forward to a modified system of repeal. I do not anticipate from such a change any depreciation in the value of land. I think a repeal of these laws would be the means of increasing the energies of the agricultural body. Farmers would see that quantity of produce must make up for the lower quality of price. I am satisfied that the change would, on the whole, greatly benefit England. I am satisfied that the labouring population would be greatly benefited by it [cheers]. The agricultural system must be changed. I have seen in this country noble fields ready for the sickle, which a puff of wind would injure, and two or three labourers picking away at a corner [hear, and cheers]. Such is the slovenly system pursued. If farmers had a little more difficulty in paying their rent they would display more energy [laughter from the ministerialists]. I have no hesitation in saying that the industry of the tenantry of England would be greatly increased if they trusted more to their own resources, and did not look for securing a price for their produce to protection. These are my humble opinions, which I should not have troubled the house with if I had not been challenged. I can only congratulate the right hon. baronet on the success, so far as he has gone, of his free-trade principles [loud cheers from the opposition].

Thursday, May 11th.

CASE OF WILLIAM JONES.

Mr THOMAS DUNCOMBE called the attention of the House to the petition of William Jones, prisoner in Leicester county gaol, complaining of the conduct of Baron Gurney during his trial at the late Leicester assizes; and moved an address to her Majesty, that the petitioner's case be taken into merciful consideration. The comments which had appeared in the public prints relative to the conduct of the learned judge at the trial were not fully borne out by the inquiry which he had made; but it did appear that intemperate and hasty expressions had been used by him, of which he cited evidence from a report of the proceedings; and the prisoner complained that they had a disadvantageous effect on him in conducting his defence.

It appeared, that during the cross-examination of Thomas Agar, a sergeant of police, the judge interrupted the defendant with some warmth upon his asking the question—"Did you think yourself morally justified?"—or rather part of a question, for he got no further, the judge interrupting with—"Stop, stop; what have we to do with that?" [a laugh]. Well, the defendant said—"My lord, I think," but the judge immediately stopped him again, saying—"You may think what you please, but we'll have no such nonsense as that about 'morally justified' here." The policeman went on with his evidence, in cross-examination by the defendant, and said, "The people were orderly. He meant by that there was no actual breach of the peace; there was no disturbance, but the people were elevated" [a laugh]. "Meant by elevated, that they were wrought upon by your expressions. There was injury done to the policeman before you came, and not since." As soon as the witness said that the judge again interrupted—"Why, they took you up, you see; that's the way they quieted you. 'If you turn a dog down the street, and cry out 'Mad dog,' there's no need to tell the people to knock him on the head. There's no occasion for it, it is not necessary, they will do it without.'"

What had formerly been the political life of the learned Baron.

Before he passed such a sentence Baron Gurney might surely have called to mind those good old days of Jacobinism, when he himself did not hesitate to call governments "tyrannical;" and when it was said of him by a celebrated wit "that no man in that day got on so well as he who got on by sedition" [cheers]. "Why this Baron Gurney," said the hon. member, "this Baron Gurney has made himself by defending what he would now call seditious libels. He was the bosom friend of the 'Rev.' Jeremiah Joyce, who was tried for high treason—he was one of the corresponding society men of 1793—he was—"Don't, don't," from Mr B. Hawes—"don't! why I'm telling the hon. member facts which he is not aware of, and which are more to the credit of his relative than anything he has ever done since" [hear, hear, and a laugh]—he was the man who publicly desired to "meet the fate of Hampden, who died in the field, or of Russell, who suffered on the scaffold"—who in earlier years baptised his own sons by the names of Sidney, of Russell, and of Hampden, and who yet in the year last past could find no palliation, no apology, no excuse for the somewhat intemperate zeal of this misguided boy" [continued cheering].

The prisoner also complained of not enjoying the privileges of persons imprisoned for political offences.

Sir J. GRAHAM vindicated the learned Baron's conduct, and stated that at the close of the trial the prisoner himself had thanked the judge for the manner in which the proceedings had been conducted by him. Sir J. Graham had himself inquired into the state of the prisoner's health, and it had been certified to him that the man was not labouring under any serious illness; nevertheless, he had suggested to the magistrate some relaxations, which had been granted. He, therefore, saw not the slightest ground for the motion.

Mr HUME said that, so far as his own knowledge went, he considered that the manner in which Sir J. Graham fulfilled the duties of his office did him high credit. Still, Mr T. Duncombe was rendering real service to the public and to the administration of justice, by undertaking to bring forward cases of this kind, for few men would have the moral courage to do so. The manner in which political offenders were now treated in prison, as compared with former times, was discreditable.

He deprecated the conduct of the whig party upon former occasions. He had been driven to the use of language much stronger than that which had been referred to [loud laughter]. He had been asked to do so by the whigs [laughter]. Such language would now be called seditious [a laugh]. He regretted that the whigs should be the first to prosecute for the use of language which they had incited others to give expression to.

Mr Sergeant MURPHY intreated Mr T. Duncombe to withdraw his motion. He had witnessed the admirable manner in which Baron Gurney discharged his judicial duties, and bore testimony to it.

Mr HAWES, as a relative of Baron Gurney, also added a few words of vindication.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL quoted from two Leicester newspapers, in which it was stated that the reports of the trial of Jones, which had appeared in the London papers, was exceedingly unfair to the learned judge. The prisoner had been fairly tried and leniently treated.

Mr T. DUNCOMBE said that the friends of Jones denied that he had thanked the judge—he had only

thanked the jury. It was his duty, as a member of parliament, to attend to respectful petitions complaining of grievances; but on the present occasion he would adopt the advice tendered to him, and withdraw his motion, which was accordingly done.

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

Mr BORTHWICK commenced the adjourned debate by assailing the Anti-corn-law League. He confessed that the country had been deceived, though not by Sir Robert Peel, and admitted that the principles of free trade were "abstractly true," nay, as old as truth itself, but there was a hitch as to their practical application in this country to the trade in corn. It was because he was a free trader that he called for protection, in order to equalise the circumstances under which English wheat could compete with Polish; and he sought to give a preponderance to a landed aristocracy, because their basis was more solid and not so fluctuating as the wealth which was derived from commerce.

Mr WRIGHTSON reviewed the history of the corn laws from the time of Mr Pitt, and treated it as showing that the ministers of England had ever been disposed to relieve the people upon the subject, as far as their allies, the country gentlemen, would allow them. He cautioned the landlords to do what needs must be done, and to do it before commerce should have left their shores. He hoped that Sir R. Peel would imitate the example of Lord Grenville, who, after having been for many years a party to the arrangements of the sinking fund, had shown himself not ashamed to abandon them upon discovering their fallacy.

Mr ROBERT PALMER would not support the corn law if he did not think it essential to the best interests of the country. The agricultural members were charged with betraying their constituents in supporting Sir Robert Peel's commercial measures; but though he felt that the government had gone too far, they had given a reluctant assent to the changes which had been effected, as the most prudent course in the existing state of parties. But Mr Blackstone had libeled the nobility and gentry of England when he said, on the previous night, that they had deserted the yeomanry.

Mr H. MARSLAND said there was no doubt of the power of the landed interest—what was in doubt was their sense of justice. But the advocates of a total repeal of the corn laws had no occasion for despondency; for the question which used to be argued as one of principle, was now admitted to be only one of time.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL adverted to the attack which had been made upon him by Mr Blackstone, and cautioned him as to his conduct, seeing it was understood he also had changed his opinions from a more liberal policy to monopoly. He denied that the government, in changing the corn laws, had done so with a view to their ultimate repeal.

With respect to the question immediately before the House, he would repeat, he approved of the present law. It had been stated in this debate and in former debates, that the existing law was brought in by the government as a measure preparatory to an entire alteration of the corn laws. Now that he said it was not. Her Majesty's government had last year submitted to the consideration of parliament a measure which they considered to be the most favourable to all classes of the country, and without reference to any one interest rather than another. It was with that view the measure had been proposed and the law enacted, and not, as had been stated, as preparatory to a total repeal of the corn laws.

The question was not exclusively a landlord's one—it interested the whole community, and the tenant-farmer and labourer as much as any. He dwelt on the various obligations under which landowners lay, as the necessity of providing their marriage settlements, and so forth.

There were other liabilities to which the land was now subject—liabilities incurred since the law had been passed. There were pecuniary liabilities and provisions for younger children (opposition cheers). Did honourable gentlemen mean to say that a sweeping measure of the corn laws was to make no provision for those liabilities?

Free trade would bring about low prices, which would be followed by low wages—a point which he endeavoured to prove. He also questioned Mr Cobden's sincerity in seeking a repeal of the corn laws as a means of benefiting the distressed manufacturers, seeing he looked forward to farther agitation for political rights, after they were repealed.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, as an advocate for a fixed duty on the importation of foreign corn, was alarmed at the course which the debate had taken. Mr Gladstone, on the part of the government, had described the landowners as sinecurists, who were to be compensated by a little longer continuance of their monopoly; and now Sir Edward Knatchbull advocated the same laws, because it was the duty of parliament to enable them to provide for their marriage settlements!

Sir E. Knatchbull's opinion was, that after these marriage settlements had been made, injustice would be done unless parliament should provide in some manner for the obligations which had been entered into [cheers]. Did the right hon. member mean that if the corn law were abolished, a certain amount of compensation should be given to those landed gentry who had made marriage settlements? If the hon. member for Wolverhampton should carry his motion, he (Lord J. Russell) supposed they would hear a similar proposition to that made in the great case of compensation to slaveholders on the passing of the Slave Emancipation bill, and that the right hon. member would then tell the amount of which he rated the compensation to be given to the landowners [cheers and laughter].

For himself, he retained his former opinions in favour of a fixed duty. He did consider that land was subject to peculiar burdens; that was the conviction of Mr Ricardo and Mr McCulloch, authorities not to be lightly set aside. He, therefore, objected to the words appended to this motion, the words involving an intimation of total abolition.

His noble friend, the member for Sunderland, might say that in supporting it as a parliamentary proceeding, he yet did not know but the result might be that he would vote for a duty. It was true that his noble friend might so act; but he felt, if he supported a motion so framed, he should next day be told that he had voted for the immediate abolition of all duties on corn [hear]. Though he could technically give such a vote for the motion, still he thought it a more intelligible proposition to give

his vote the opposite way. If anybody moved a resolution in the usual form for going into a committee of the whole house on the subject of the corn laws, he would support it [loud cries of members on the opposition benches of "Move, move"]. Well, he should have no objection to make such a motion, if he thought that any practical good was likely to follow from it [hear, and laughter].

As to the sliding scale, the grounds for its maintenance were becoming weaker every day; before long he expected that the present law would be changed, and the trade in corn assimilated to other articles of merchandise. They could not go on from year to year, in continued debate, abandoning the principles on which they formerly defended these laws, and merely justifying them on the grounds of temporary expediency. But as he advocated a moderate fixed duty, he felt that he could not support the present motion.

Mr DARBY strenuously contended that it would not benefit this country to import corn which it did not require. He resisted the motion, and trusted the government would stand steady. Factional individuals, after praising the government, or themselves rather, for adopting free trade principles, went into the country and alarmed the farmers. But they would not get free trade in corn without free trade in silk and all other manufactures, and let them try such a proposition in Manchester.

The debate was again adjourned.

Friday, May 12th.

Mr BLACKSTONE, before the adjourned debate was resumed, in offering some explanations of the speech made by him in an earlier stage of this debate, disclaimed having thrown upon the resident gentry any imputation of hostility to the farmers, and desired that it might be understood that he himself intended to vote against Mr Villiers's motion.

Mr BROTHERTON, who, after some correction of misrepresentations of what he had said on former occasions, as to the effect of a fixed duty, went into the general question. He respected the rights of property, but some consideration was due to the rights of industry; the commercial community contributed more than one-half of the income tax and other taxes; and the prosperity of the community was to be mainly measured by the degree of comfort in which the middle and labouring classes could indulge. But the corn law interfered with that prosperity by abstracting the capital which ought to be spent on other things than food; it was injurious in its operation not only to commerce and industry, but to agriculture; and, as a gross injustice, ought to be repealed.

Mr HAMPDEN was amazed at the perverse logic which attributed every evil to the corn laws. Free trade without reciprocity would be at once a solecism and a delusion; and no greater error in legislation could be committed, than to regulate the affairs of a highly artificial state of society, by an unbending adherence to abstract principles.

Mr JAMES was entirely opposed to the corn law, but was not prepared to support its total and immediate repeal, being disposed rather to advocate a moderate fixed duty. He should, therefore, abstain altogether from voting on the motion.

Captain THOMAS GLADSTONE explained the sense in which he understood his brother had used the word "sinecure," as applied to the case of the landowners.

Mr ALDAM, arguing from the fact that the United States possessed within herself all the resources, minerals, and so forth, for creating a great manufacturing community, expressed his fears that if we held out no inducements to the adoption of a free trade with that country, the fate of our American trade was sealed. He never did and never would countenance those violent feelings which were engendered amongst the manufacturing community against government and our institutions; but he feared they were deeply rooted, and the maintenance of the corn law would aggravate them.

Mr BENET said that some great preliminary measure must precede unqualified free trade. Let them subscribe to pay off the national debt, and for his part he would willingly contribute his share of such an income tax as would sustain our national expenditure, and enable us to repeal all taxes on consumption. The first effect of the repeal of the corn laws would be to hand over the estates of the landowners to their monied creditors, the holders of ancient mortgages. He assented to the principles of free trade, but did not wish to put the cart before the horse. Let a general comprehensive measure be brought in, embracing all interests, and as a landowner he would support it.

Mr HUME feared that the comprehensive measure asked for by Mr Benet glanced obliquely at the public creditor. But he was sure Sir Robert Peel would be no party to any scheme for robbing the fundholder. We had been enabled to maintain our extravagance so long as we possessed a monopoly in the market of the world for the sale of our manufactures. But we could not retain it any longer; and we must prepare to return to a natural state, by reducing our prices to a level with those of other countries. This we could only attain by free trade in everything, only raising what was requisite for the revenue. Protection to any one class whatever was robbery; and every man who upheld monopoly was a patron of robbery.

Sir JOHN TYRRELL threw some dry jokes at Mr Hume and Gisborne, the latter of whom he described as "a jewel of the first water on the liberal side of the house;" and alluded, with a little asperity, to the phrase of Mr Gladstone, describing the landowners as "sinecurists." It was of importance that the question of the corn laws should be settled; one way was by repeal, the other was by Sir R. Peel acting up to his declarations, and unequivocally declaring his determination to stand by agriculture. But the Prime Minister was so secured in his habitual caution, that it is the liberals could not extract

anything from him, the farmers who followed in his wake were not likely to gather up much. The farmers did not think they had been intelligibly treated by Sir Robert Peel, first with his Corn bill and tariff, next by giving up the "grinding question," and now by the Canada Corn bill in his waistcoat pocket. The reduction of protection which had taken place, by the recent measures of the government, instead of benefiting the revenue, as the advocates of total repeal contended, would be the result of their favourite policy, had rather injured it as appeared from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's "account of empty boxes."

Mr HENRY BERKELEY shortly stated the grounds on which he supported the motion.

Sir WALTER JAMES, considering himself in the same boat with the landowners, thought, nevertheless, that the time was now come when all the middle and upper classes must take a step in advance to save the labouring class.

Lord WORSLEY wanted an explicit declaration from the government of their intentions upon this subject.

Sir R. PEEL said the progress of the debate had confirmed his previous opinion, that little of novelty could be advanced upon this subject. He had himself nothing new to state, and would not now have addressed the House but for the importance of the matter, and the circumstances of his own position. The principle involved in this motion was wider than the motion itself; it was nothing less than the proposition that all protective duties, as well as the duties on corn, must be immediately and completely abolished; and the motion ought in fairness to have explicitly affirmed that larger proposition. If the House should agree to it they must at once reverse the whole arrangement of the tariff, except as far as respected duties for mere revenue, and the whole of the colonial system, and this not by a mature, deliberate legislation, but by a summary vote of the House of Commons. Mr Gladstone had been misrepresented as having described the landlords to be sinecurists; whereas he merely argued that even if they had been sinecurists, still they would have been entitled to the consideration which belonged to all established interests.

I think with the noble lord that the landed interest is entitled to protection upon the just ground of being called on to bear special burdens [cries of "Oh!" from the opposition benches, and "Hear, hear," from the ministerial side of the house]. Sir, I am stating my opinion. I am repeating that I admit that having frequently discussed this subject, as I stated at the outset, it was difficult to allege any new argument. I am stating my concurrence with the noble lord with respect to the protection which ought to be afforded to agriculture on account of the burdens imposed on land which were not imposed on other property [ironical cheers]. It is the landed property of the country which maintains the church establishment [ironical cheers].

Gentlemen might endeavour to interrupt him, for none were more intolerant than those who assumed to be liberals; but he would not be moved by their example to depart from the calm spirit which the subject required. The land bore peculiarly the rate for the support of the poor. The malt tax was another burden bearing mainly upon land, and checking one branch of agricultural investment and industry. Lord Worsley had asked him for a declaration.

Her Majesty's ministers proposed the corn law last year in the hope that it might be an adjustment of this question. They could not say that the measure should be irrevocably final and unalterable; but her Majesty's ministers had no dirty intention in their minds of proposing an abrogation of the corn laws. In a matter of this immense importance, I consider political support to be of no slight consequence; but, however painful it may be to lose it, I cannot attempt to conciliate political support by making any inconsistent declarations [cheers]. Her Majesty's government offered this law as a fair and equitable adjustment of the question; and they thought it would be met in a fair and conciliatory spirit by the landed interest; and I never will say with respect to any law of this nature that the fear of losing political support shall induce me to sacrifice my opinion [cheers]. I tell this to the noble lord, that I do not maintain the law merely because it was passed last session; nay, I must admit that if it were true that the law is irreconcilable with the interests of the country, and that a better law could be proposed, it would be the duty of the government to propose, and parliament to adopt, such a law [hear, hear]. It is utterly impossible, in a commercial matter like this, to combine influences for the purpose of maintaining, as you suppose, your character; because it is not like a great political principle, it partakes of nothing of that character. But I say that intervening experience has not convinced me that the law is a bad one.

He now repeated to his agricultural friends that the depression among them was, in his opinion, owing, not to the corn law, but to the distress among their best customers, the manufacturers—so vastly less important to them was it to have a high duty than to have prosperity in the manufacturing districts. Nor had the state of those districts been produced by the corn law—for a corn law much more exclusive had co-existed with the highest seasons of manufacturing prosperity. With respect to the late unsuccessful speculations in corn, they were owing in no slight degree to the speeches of members in that house, predicting a total failure of the harvest, and encouraging the speculators to withhold their grain. Under such circumstances, the new corn law could not be said to have had fair play. He adverted to some other objections which had been advanced *a priori* against that law, and showed that none of them had been realised. He was, therefore, not prepared to concur in any change of it; and, having brought it forward as a fair compromise of interests, he did not intend to depart from it unless upon some very cogent reasons, which he certainly did not now discover. The proposed Canadian bill was nothing new, it was part of the measure of the last session, and had been so announced. He concluded by assuring the House that no consideration of his own position or power should induce him to swerve from the course which the public good might appear to him to prescribe.

After a few words of explanation from Lord Howick, Mr W. O. STANLEY moved the adjournment of the debate, which was seconded by Mr Milner Gibson. But Sir Robert Peel entreated that it should be closed, which also appeared to be the wish of a somewhat numerous majority in the house, who

manifested their feelings in a rather noisy way. Lord John Russell added his recommendation that the division should at once take place, as the question had been largely debated, and was not a novel one. He would vote against the adjournment. A most extraordinary scene then ensued.

Mr HUME said, that seven or eight hon. members were anxious to address the House [loud cries of "Go on"]. Go on, indeed [laughter]! it was fine talking to say, "Go on" [continued laughter]; how could they (said the hon. member, looking at the clock) go on at that hour of the night [loud cries of "Go on," "Adjourn," and "Divide"]?

Mr COBDEN: If he entertained any doubt as to the propriety of adjourning the debate at that time of the night (a quarter to one o'clock), the inhuman noises which proceeded from hon. members would dispel that doubt [loud laughter, and cries of "Divide," "Go on"]. The course which hon. members had taken satisfied him as to the necessity of an adjournment [cries of "Go on," "No adjournment"].

Mr EWART rose amidst most indignant shouts of "Order," "Withdraw," "Chair, chair." The hon. member said that the noble lord had taunted those who supported the motion for an adjournment. There were many hon. members representing large manufacturing towns, he referred particularly to the hon. members for Stockport and Manchester, who were anxious to address the House upon the important question under its consideration [loud cries of "Spoke," "Order," "Divide"]. These were the very men whom the House ought to hear, as they represented the movement for total repeal [loud cries of "Oh, oh!" and laughter]. Ah, you may despise that question now, but the time would come when they would be taught to respect it ["Spoke," "Chair," "Divide"]. He had adopted that opinion from conscientious motives [shouts of laughter, and cries of "Pooh, pooh"], and being determined to act up to these conscientious motives ["Oh, oh," and great laughter], he would stand by the proposition for an adjournment [loud cries of "Adjourn," "Divide," "Order"].

Mr VILLIERS rose [loud cries of "Divide"]. The right hon. baronet who opposed the adjournment of the debate had not risen to speak until a quarter to twelve o'clock ["No, no"]. It was only just that the representatives of the people should be heard.

Sir J. HANMER said there was the greatest possible disposition to hear hon. members. It was not right at that period of the session to waste the time of the House. If hon. members persisted in moving the adjournment of the debate, he should move as an amendment that the House do adjourn [cheers].

Mr J. O'CONNELL thought that it was a misfortune that the public time should be wasted, but it was a still greater misfortune that the voice of the nation should be suppressed in the voice of her representatives.

Lord J. MANNERS would ask one question. He should like to know why those hon. members who represented large towns had not, during the four nights that the debate had lasted, availed themselves of the opportunity of speaking [loud cries of "hear"]?

Mr STUART again rose, and was received with loud cries of "Spoke." The hon. member, however, nothing daunted by these expressions of indisposition to listen to him, rose a second, third, fourth, and fifth time amidst deafening cries of "Spoke, spoke." Considerable merriment was excited by the hon. member's bobbing up and down in his seat at each successive shout of impatience. The hon. gentleman at last sat down in despair.

Dr BOWRING and Mr M. GIBSON severally attempted to address the House without success.

A very noisy scene ensued, various members speaking, and some exhibiting considerable excitement. Mr WARD interposed, and put it to the House if it were pursuing a dignified course, and

Sir ROBERT PEEL urged the importance of having a fair decision on the main question.

Mr MUNTZ said he had risen six times on each of the successive nights, and had been unable to catch the Speaker's eye. He represented a large constituency, and was desirous of speaking.

A division took place on the motion for the adjournment of the debate. This was lost by a majority of 385 to 94.

Captain BERKELEY said he represented a great commercial city ["hear," and "question,"] but owed his seat to the popularity and influence of a great landowner [ironical cries, and "hear, hear"]; therefore, his views on the question were impartial, for self, after all, was a great motive ["hear, hear," and cries of "divide"]. He should vote for the motion, not as approving of immediate and total repeal, but as expressing an opinion that the existing law must be altered [cries of "divide"].

Mr W. O. STANLEY again moved the adjournment of the debate.

Lord DUNGANNON protested against this course.

Sir CHARLES NAPIER said the House was in no temper to come to a decision on so important a question.

Mr BORTHWICK said the real reason why the continuance of the debate was thus pertinaciously resisted was, that it was desired to carry the powerful speech of the right hon. baronet to some agitating "convention" [cheers], for the purpose of attempting at leisure, and with the aid of a hundred heads, to dissect, and if possible damage, an argument which none of the boasted advocates of free trade in the house dared now endeavour to answer [loud cheers]; to try to torture and twist it, with the hope of extracting some points of imputation, or some appearances of admission [renewed cheers], and to exercise upon it all the tricks and arts of an insidious and disingenuous criticism [reiterated cheers]. To defeat so unworthy an object on the part of men who had thrown away repeated opportunities of speaking, had they been only sincerely desirous of expressing their own opinions, he would lend his most earnest aid [great cheering, and cries of "Go on"].

Mr HAWES observed that they had now lost an hour and twenty minutes (it was now past two o'clock) discussing whether they should adjourn. In that time they might have finished the debate.

Sir R. PEEL disclaimed having delayed his speech for the purpose of preventing a reply. He would beg to be excused taking part in this renewed discussion on the adjournment.

Mr COBDEN said that the noble lord (Sandon) had, not very charitably, said he was unable to answer the speech of the right hon. gentleman. The fact was that there was not an argument in the speech of the right hon. baronet that he had not answered fifty times [hear].

After a prolonged discussion, another division took

place, when the adjournment was once more rejected by 273 to 80.

Mr MORGAN J. O'CONNELL then proceeded to declare his resolution to support Mr Villiers's motion.

Mr EWART proposed the adjournment of the debate, being the third motion to effect that purpose.

Lord DUNGANNON said he would resist the course pursued, if he were to sit till eight in the morning.

This was met by the announcement of the determination of other members to continue the fight for the adjournment, it having already lasted two hours; and, Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell having retired from the House, another scene of excitement followed, and Lord JOHN MANNERS moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr VILLIERS protested against this indecent and tyrannical way of getting rid of the motion, in which a large majority of the House had a pecuniary interest.

Mr CHRISTOPHER recommended the withdrawal of the motion for the adjournment of the House.

Lord JOHN MANNERS offered to do so; but

Mr HUME, looking to the time, and the state of the House, thought it better to accede to the motion. At last, after efforts made by Mr Ward and Mr Plumptre, a member availed himself of a parliamentary privilege, by taking notice of the presence of strangers, when accordingly the reporters had to retire.

During the absence of the reporters the contest continued. Mr DUNCOMBE said they might well exclude the reporters, for they were ashamed of their own proceedings [cries of "order, order"]. They might cry order, but they might depend upon it that there were those who would report the proceedings of the House. He considered that the government was aiding and abetting in these factious proceedings, but no public business should be done by her Majesty's ministers until this question was settled [cries of "divide," and confusion]. Mr HUME would support the member for Finsbury. Captain BERNAL designated the proceedings of the House as "a mere farce," but was obliged to retract the expression. The adjournment of the debate was finally carried by 119 to 74, and the House adjourned at ten minutes to four on Saturday morning.

Monday, May 15.

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

The adjourned debate on Mr Villiers's motion was resumed at an early hour, with interruption.

Mr W. O. STANLEY began by supporting Mr Villiers's motion in a short speech.

Dr BOWRING thought that the friends of free trade had great reason to congratulate themselves on the progress of the debate. Glimmerings of truth appeared in the twilight ignorance of the supporters of the corn laws, for half and whole admissions of the principles of free trade dropt from various members, and in one case, that of Mr. Campbell, the member for Argyleshire, there was a hearty assent to them. The free traders asked for the unqualified application of their principles; they repudiated exemptions in favour of any class whatever. He quoted the peculiarly nervous language of Mr. Carlyle, as to the impolicy of the corn laws; and warned the House that the public were beginning to think that nothing but great political changes would effect their removal.

Mr EWART followed, appealing to the Conservative representatives of commercial towns, and contending that, in the course of the debate, the opponents of free trade had indulged in mistatements and fallacies, such as that low prices would follow the repeal of the corn laws, and so forth. What was required was, such an extension of the commerce of the country as would increase the ability of the people to consume.

Mr CHILDERS could not, in the present state of the country, and after the extensive changes of last year, vote for the immediate and total repeal of the corn laws, though he looked forward fearlessly to their ultimate removal, and was satisfied that the change would disappoint both opponents and supporters.

Captain LAYARD commented on the measures of the government, especially the imposition of the income tax, and argued that the financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not only a proof of the failure, but an additional argument for the further application of free trade principles. He would vote for the motion, because he condemned the corn laws, though on this point he feared he differed from some of his constituents who were interested in agriculture.

Mr EDWARD BULLER discussed the subject of "peculiar burdens," and, after showing that last year, by comparison with the previous one, was peculiarly favourable for disguising the mischiefs of a corn law, declared that in default of opportunity for supporting a fixed duty, he would give his vote in favour of the motion. The principle of the "sliding-scale" could not be maintained, especially after the impetus given to free trade principles by the government, and the feeling of dissatisfaction and insecurity which their measures had communicated to the agricultural interest. He concluded by allusions to the conduct of the Premier.

The right hon. gentleman the Vice-President of the Board of Trade had made a very stout speech, and had spoken of some contract with the agriculturists in favour of the corn laws; an idea, however, which the Premier took care to repudiate, using language similar to that which had been used by "gay deceivers" ever since men were false and women confiding [laughter]. "I did not make any promise" [laughter]. "I uttered no vows" [loud laughter]. "You threw yourself into my arms voluntarily and unreservedly" [continued laughter]. [Sir R. Peel just before re-entered the House.]

"Non hæc in federa veni" [laughter].

And soon the time would come when the right hon. baronet would lament to them the painful necessity for surrendering them to further sacrifice, dexterously excusing himself for the apparent unkindness [laughter].

"Ipse Deum manifesto in lumine vidi,"

"Intrantem muros vocemque his auribus hausi,"

[Renewed laughter]. "Ipse Deum!" "Cobden!" [great laughter]. "His agitating agency has effected it" [laughter].

"He who speaks so powerfully and so pointedly as at times to ruffle even the temper of Ministers." The time has arrived!

"Desine, meque tuis incendere teque querelis!"

"Italiam non sponte sequor" [laughter].

"My affections—my attachments are with you; but—cease your

complaining—hard fate and necessity compel me to change!" [loud laughter, in which Sir R. Peel cordially joined.]

Sir CHARLES BURRELL contended that landlord, farmer, and agricultural labourer were all interested in the corn laws; even now, the recent changes had so affected the capital of the farmer, that if he were to sell off his stock he would lose one half. He adduced various statements to show the necessity of fair protection to agriculture.

Mr POULET SCROPE looked upon all indirect taxes on articles of consumption as savouring of protection. But, as we had a great national establishment to maintain, we could not push the principles of free trade to the extent of repealing all these taxes. What we should do, however, was to construct our financial system with a view to revenue, and not for protection; and, above all, in that which constitutes the main article of subsistence for the people. He did not impute motives; but what must the people think, when a Cabinet Minister defended the corn laws by such pleas as the necessity of providing for family settlements? In supporting the motion, he was not actuated by "pressure from without," for his opinions, as he showed by an extract from a work he published ten years ago, were not now avowed for the first time.

Colonel WOOD (Brecon) defended the sliding scale, and affirmed that he would rather vote for a total abolition of the corn laws than a fixed duty.

Mr THORNELY said he had visited America last autumn, and had found the Americans with whom he had conversed, merchants, statesmen, and the President himself, all answering, when he urged the relaxations of last year's tariff, that these availed nothing while the duty was maintained against American corn. He did not believe that any quantity of American corn considerable enough to be worth mentioning would be let in by the proposed regulations respecting Canada. A new Congress was to meet in next December; and he recommended it to the ministers to take advantage of the interval, for the purpose of changing this law, persuaded, as he was, that in that case the new Congress would pass a tariff much more favourable than the existing one to British manufactures. The United States had indeed for ten years been gradually reducing the duties on British goods; but we had not met them in a corresponding spirit.

After a few words, on the same side, from Mr. STRUTT,

Sir H. DOUGLAS expressed, as the representative of Liverpool, his apprehension that the doctrine of free trade, pushed to its extreme, would work anything but welfare to the great interests of the country. He valued all the three great interests—trade, manufactures, and agriculture; but agriculture was the root of all. He believed that England was England's best customer; and he referred to Dr. Adam Smith's authority respecting the advantages of the home trade as compared with the foreign. He inclined to think that the distress now prevalent was attributable to our having already opened the sluices of free trade too wide.

Mr MUNTZ meant to vote with Mr. Villiers, not because he thought the protection to agriculture too large, but because he thought it too exclusively confined to land. It ought to have extended to labour also, whereas the labour of the cotton-spinners was now reduced by four-fifths of its value. He was grieved to say that the distress in Birmingham was undiminished, and that there appeared not even a prospect of its diminution. He controverted Sir R. Peel's opinions respecting tithes, poor-rates, malt-tax, and other burdens alleged to be peculiar to the land. But he vindicated the right hon. baronet's finance, which, he said, ought not to be judged by its results alone. He thought it necessary, however, that currency and corn should be considered together.

He had been forty years engaged in trade, and he was peculiarly unfortunate in finding that every one was better acquainted with what he should do in his trade than he was himself [laughter]. He would tell the hon. and learned gentleman, however, that however successful his practice might be in other courts, that he never could succeed in the court of commerce [increased laughter]. He was reading a book the other day which was written about the time when Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, and it appeared that at that time there was not a physician, or surgeon, or apothecary, or even a barber, who did not declare that the man was perfectly idiotic to put forward such a notion. It turned out, however, that he was right, and the result was that every one admitted it; and so he (Mr Muntz) contended that it was with the circulation of money [laughter]. He believed that the principle of the circulation of money in that House was as little known as the circulation of the blood was before the time of Harvey [increased laughter].

Mr COBDEN said there was no way of raising prices but by restricting supply. Could they justify themselves, therefore, in maintaining a law which restricted the amount of the supply of food for the people? He did not impute motives; but the condition of the agricultural labourer was the severest condemnation of the corn law which could be pronounced.

What is the present condition of the agricultural labourer? Why, is not crime increasing as pauperism increases? (hear, hear.) Since I have been making excursions into your regions (a laugh), I hear it stated that the actual returns of your petty sessions and assizes furnish no criterion of the state of demoralization of the rural districts (hear, hear); that such is the extent of petty pilfering and crime, that you must wink at their commission, or you could not carry on your usual judicial business (no, no). I have heard that such is the case, from good authority, in Somersetshire and Wiltshire (loud cries of "no, no"). Honourable gentlemen may call "no, no," but there is an intelligent auditory out of doors who will confirm what I say (cheers). What is the crime most prevalent in the agricultural districts? I saw the other day an account of a poor man convicted of stealing sticks to the value of 14d., and sentenced to pay 15s.; and a poor woman at Chichester was punished for stealing mould belonging to the Duke of Richmond (oh! oh!). Yes, they have begun to steal the very earth (oh!). What was the fact urged by the honourable member for Dorsetshire as an extenuation of the condition of the labouring poor in his district? Why, that he allowed them to gather the sticks blown down from his trees (oh, oh!). Yes, this was brought forward as a proof of landlord benevolence, that the poor labourers were allowed to pick up rotten branches and crows' nests (oh, oh!). And what does all this argue? What you can't deny—that the agricultural peasantry are in a state of the deepest suffering

But if there has been any benefit derived from the corn laws they have never felt it (hear, hear, hear). First, we come to the farmer. How is it that you have not added the case of the farmer? Are you not, "farmers' friend," bound to alleviate his sufferings? His capital is wasting away—he is unable to employ labourers—and why? Because the money which should go to employ them is absorbed in your rents (cheers, and oh, oh! from the ministerial benches). Honourable gentlemen say, "oh, oh," and "no, no;" but the farmers will corroborate me (no). I leave myself in the hands of the farmers of Sussex; they will say whether I tell the truth.

Mr DABBY (as we understood) exclaimed—Go to Sussex. Mr CORDEN—I have been in Sussex. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will meet me should I go again (loud cheers).

The successive corn laws, since 1815, had all failed in their promised effects; and now, as on former occasions, the farmers were in distress, and they blamed Sir Robert Peel for deceiving them. They were justified, for he had held out hopes of securing, so far as legislation could do so, prices from 54s. to 58s. No doubt Sir Robert Peel had qualified this promise, and had said that no legislation could maintain prices:—

The right hon. baronet had stated that he never intended to maintain a certain price, for that, in fact, he cannot maintain (hear). Sir, I ask what is this legislation for? (hear, hear). I ask what it means?—what it has meant from 1815 downwards? I will not say what the motives of its promoter have been; but the effect has been one continued juggle played off upon the farmers, enabling the landlords to obtain artificial rents, which, being paid out of the farmer's capital, occasions loss to him, while the landlords are enabled to profit owing to the competition among tenants for farms (hear, hear). We will not separate this night until we have a perfect understanding of what you do propose to do for the farmer. I ask the right hon. baronet opposite, when he talks of the prices which the farmer should obtain, whether he can prevent wheat from falling as low as 36s.—whether he can ensure it from falling as low as 30s.? As the right hon. gentleman says nothing, I will assume that this House cannot secure to the farmer a price of 30s. per quarter. Let this go forth—let there be, if you please, no ambiguity upon the point—no more deception—let the farmer perfectly understand that his prosperity depends upon that of his customers—that the insane policy of this House has been to ruin his customers, and that acts of Parliament to keep up prices are mere frauds to put rents into the landlords' pockets, and enable him to juggle his tenants ("hear, hear," and cheers).

Peculiar burdens were alleged; but seeing the landlords had hitherto the complete control of the Legislature, was it to be believed that they were such angelic beings as to lay heavy burdens on their own shoulders?—and then to pass a corn law to reimburse themselves. You might send a copy of such laws to another planet, if you could find a conveyance; and the inhabitants of that planet would at once remark, "These enactments must have been made by landowners." The corn law had been made a political cry in the counties, a sort of church and state question, and the farmers were led to believe, at the last general election, that their "friends" were coming into power to "protect" them.

"Well," said the hon. member, "well, there they are." (loud ironical cheers from the Opposition benches). "There they are, some of them sitting on the Treasury bench. (Renewed cheers). The right hon. baronet at the head of the government—he made a speech at Tamworth as 'the farmers' friend.' The hon. member for Essex says he quoted it repeatedly—but I don't think the hon. member quotes it now (repeated cheers). As for the right hon. baronet, however, with all his ability, and with his twenty years' Parliamentary experience, he might, and most probably he would, have obtained the situation he now holds whatever might have been the circumstances of the time. The post was due to him, perhaps, for his talents—so of him I shall say no more just now (hear, hear). But there is another right hon. baronet very near him—I mean the Paymaster of the Forces, though just now I must admit there is no disturbing force in him (renewed laughter). The right hon. member is the 'farmers' friend' (hear, hear). There he sits (renewed cheers). Oh! I was struck the other night at the fervour with which the hon. member for Wallingford apostrophized this 'farmers' friend,' when, with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, he said, 'Oh! if the Paymaster of the Forces were himself again! A few years back he would not have treated the farmer so' (loud laughter, and cries of 'Question'). 'Question!' Ay, it is not a very pleasant one, certainly; but it is 'the question' (great cheering from the Opposition benches).

Those landowners who were the best farmers denied that land would be thrown out of cultivation; that allegation was only made by those who came from the worst farmed districts of the country, and who were, therefore, most rampant for protection. Long leases and good farming were to be found together, as in the Lothians and Northumberland; for himself, he would reckon it an insult to have a farm offered to him on which to spend money without the security of a lease. In fact, they did not know their own interests. Protection was alleged to have been diminished by the last corn law; but the landlords, instead of talking of reducing their rents, called on the farmers to bestir themselves, instead of sitting at their doors, smoking their pipes and drinking their ale. But the farmers were beginning to get sick of political landlords.

Gentlemen must not regard this as a battle between the farmers and the manufacturers. We propose to make good friends with the farmers (laughter and cheers). Yes; we are their best friends (renewed laughter)—their only friends—their best customers (laughter and cheers); and I can tell you this, they are beginning to be sick of the political landlords; ("hear," and "Oh!") There's a small section of the House now setting themselves up as the real farmers' friends—upon the ruins of the old friendship (laughter, and "Hear, hear"); and I can say this, that so badly have they been treated, that they are now inclined to suspect even these new friends; and they say, "What are they after?—Don't you think they want to 'get up a party?' But they wishing to make themselves troublesome to the Minister, that he may fancy it worth while to offer them something" (laughter and cheers). The farmers are now disposed utterly to distrust every body who promises them any thing (laughter and cheers); and the very reason they are ready to look on us with friendly eyes (loud laughter) is, that we never promised them any thing (cheers).

The League was about to carry the question by the aid of the farmers; they went amongst them on the direct and broad principle of free trade in everything, and the farmers, as plain-dealing men, at once felt the force of this. Their object was not the injury of the revenue, but the overthrow of monopoly, colonial and all others; and the impediment which Sir Robert Peel felt in the application of free-trade principles was not the difficulty of the subject, but the obstruction of his supporters. At present the public mind was arrayed solely against that keystone in the arch of monopoly—the monopoly of agriculture; but it should not disperse until it had destroyed monopoly of every other kind. Much was talked in the House about "charity;" but they had nothing to do with charity in that House, for

the people asked simply for justice. He warned them as to the vote they were about to give, if they wished to acquit themselves of being actuated by sinister motives, or desired to retain moral and religious influence over a people whose condition could not be ameliorated without access to larger supplies of food to meet their increasing numbers. He concluded with some observations addressed to Lord John Russell, and avowed his confident belief in the final triumph of free trade.

Colonel SIBTHORP said that none of his tenants held leases, but that their forefathers had lived for successive generations on his estates. He concluded with a no very complimentary reference to the League:—

The hon. member might attempt to disseminate his poison among them, but he would find it a failure. The agitation was not carried on out of any kind feeling for any class, but rather to gratify the ambition of a few, and to lead to their own aggrandizement (laughter and confusion). Many of the hon. gentlemen opposite had sprung from nothing (loud laughter, and cries of "Oh, oh!"). What were they now giving in wages? What did they do for the benefit of their workmen? The farmer was happy if he was let alone (laughter). He would do more than many of the manufacturers, for he would contribute fairly to the exigencies of the state—he would revere his sovereign, respect the laws, and maintain the intimate connection between Church and State (laughter). Hon. gentlemen opposite, and those who abetted them, were filled with folly and humbug (laughter). They knew nothing of what they were eternally talking of, and the citizens he had the honour to represent were too cautious to be deceived by the machinations, fraud, deceit and humbug of the hon. member, or any of his clique (loud laughter, and cries of "Divide").

Mr GIBSON warned Sir H. Douglas, whom he considered to have made a most anti-commercial speech, that his constituency at Liverpool was tending fast toward the opinions of free trade. With respect to the analogy which had been suggested between the sinecurist and the landowner, he thought the landowner the more formidable encumbrance of the two; for any member could ascertain the amount of the sinecurist's pension; but no man could tell the amount of the mischief produced by the legislation in favour of the landowner.

Mr VILLIERS briefly replied, but the interruption became so loud and frequent that he was not allowed to proceed far, and, on a division, there appeared:—

For the motion	125
Against it	381

Majority

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 11.

CORN LAWS.—Earl Stanhope presented the petition of the farmers assembled at the Wallingford meeting, and in doing so stated shortly his opinions relative to its prayer. All the evils of the country might be cured by legislative measures, in the direction of protection, which could not be called monopoly when fairly extended to all interests.—The Duke of Buckingham affirmed that the recent alteration of the corn laws had been exceedingly prejudicial, and he hoped no further changes would be made. He wished to see the government take the same tone with respect to the repeal of the corn laws as they had done on the subject of the repeal of the Union, and wished they would make a distinct declaration that they would resist all alteration.—Earl Fitzwilliam admitted that the country ought not to be left in the dark as to the intentions of the government.—Lord Wharnccliffe said that the government were not chargeable with creating any uncertainty, for they had declared that they had no intention of making any alterations in the law.—A brief conversational debate followed; after which the petition was ordered to be laid on the table.

Friday, May 12.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—The Marquis of Breadalbane presented several petitions praying that the disputes in the Church of Scotland might be taken into consideration by the government. The noble marquis trusted that the government would give some statement of its intentions, which might satisfy the petitioners.—The Earl of Aberdeen did not approve of these continual calls upon the government to state its intentions (cheers). They appeared to him as so many attempts to extract pledges from the government. For the information of the noble marquis he would repeat what he had said before, that when the proper time had arrived it was the intention of the government to propose a measure giving unlimited power of objection on the part of the people, and perfect independence of judging on the part of the law courts. With regard to those ministers who had seceded from the church, he did not know how they would answer for it to their consciences at the great accounting day.—Lord Brougham entirely agreed with the noble earl, that these perpetual questions were very harassing, at the same time he thought the noble earl was quite right in the declaration he had made.—Lord Campbell objected to the excessive power that was likely to be given to the church in this matter. He thought the civil courts should be ultimately allowed to decide when any ground of objection was stated against the minister.

Monday, May 15.

Lord Wharnccliffe, in reply to Lord Beaumont, denied the words attributed to him, "during the present session," when stating that no alterations were contemplated in the corn laws.

Earl Powis laid upon the table of the House a bill to repeal the union of the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph.

The Marquis of Clanricarde moved the reprinting of the second report of the commissioners on railways in Ireland. He contended that means should be taken to give employment to the Irish people, which, in addition to the benefit which it would confer on the country, would also have the effect of stopping the agitation for the repeal of the Union.—Lord Brougham strongly censured the agitators and

the agitation in Ireland, one effect of which was, that capital would not be invested in useful undertakings in that country.—The Duke of Wellington declared his determination to do his duty to his Sovereign and his country, heedless of those accusations by which he was held up as an enemy to Ireland. He found himself in very good company, in the attacks made upon him by the Irish agitators.

After some routine business, the House adjourned.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TREATY WITH ABYSSINIA.—In reply to Dr. Bowring, on Thursday, Sir Robert Peel stated that Captain Harris had completed his mission in Abyssinia; he had left Shoa, and there was every reason to believe that he had concluded a treaty with the Court of Shoa, to secure for the inhabitants of the two countries a more unrestricted intercourse.

Sir Valentine Blake gave notice that on the 25th instant he should move for leave to bring in a bill "to apportion and regulate the overwhelming labour and business of Parliament in a manner calculated to allay discontent, and to preserve and maintain the inviolability of the United Empire upon a satisfactory and permanent basis." (Laughter.)

THE TOWNSHEND PEERAGE.—This curious case, arising out of one of those numerous instances of immorality which grace the records of our aristocracy, is now occupying the attention of the House of Lords. It appears, from the evidence of the witnesses already examined, that the member for Bodmin assumes the title of Earl of Leicester, on the ground that his mother was never divorced from the Marquis of Townshend, to whom she was married in the year 1807. A year after the marriage she separated from her husband, and instituted for divorce on peculiar grounds. Some time after she went to live with Mr. Margetts, a wealthy brewer in Huntingdonshire, whose name she assumed, although she allowed the proceedings for a divorce to drop. They lived together as man and wife up to the period of the decease of Mr Margetts, and had several children. Until 1823, it appears the children bore the name of Margetts, but in that year she resumed the title of her husband, and called her eldest son Lord John Townshend. It is alleged that, from the period of her separation, she never saw her husband, who was abroad when the children were born. The object of the proceedings in the House of Lords is to bastardize the off-spring, and to secure the Marquisate of Townshend to the collateral heir of its present possessor. The mode of proceeding by bill, adopted in this case, has been rendered necessary by the state of the law, which affords no remedy in the present state of the matter. The courts of law will not take cognizance of rights until they accrue, and until the decease of the Marquis of Townshend the case could not come regularly for adjudication. In the meantime many of the witnesses were dying, and Lord Brougham, in his zeal for the honour of "their Lordships' House," has brought in this bill, in order that there may be no time lost in purging the peerage of the "brewer's son." It may be well said that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. If the wife of a labourer were to desert him for another, and to bear children to her paramour, the husband would not be excused from the obligation of supporting his wife's off-spring. The evidence in support of the bill closed on Wednesday, and the case adjourned to yesterday. It is thought the bill will be opposed in the Commons.

CANADIAN WHEAT.—Lord Stanley's resolutions on the subject of importation of wheat and flour from Canada are to be considered on Friday. They will be met by an amendment from Mr. Labouchere, to the effect "that an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly praying her Majesty to withhold her assent from an act passed in the last session of the Provincial Parliament of Canada, for the imposition of a duty on the importation of foreign corn."

Upwards of a hundred Speaker's warrants have been served upon parties in Nottingham, to give evidence before the committee of the House of Commons.—*Globe*.

CLASS LEGISLATION.—On Thursday the probate of the will of the Earl of Abergavenny passed the seal of the Prerogative court of Canterbury—the personal estate of the testator was sworn under £250,000, and paid probate stamp duty of £3,000. The landed property of the deceased nobleman was probably as valuable, but that pays no duty!

A commission has been appointed by government to inquire into the condition of children among the colliers and miners in Shropshire, together with the counties of Worcester, Stafford, and Warwick, and to report the result of their inquiries to parliament. The sum of £650 has been voted for the expenses of conducting this commission.

Preparations have commenced for the reception of the King of Hanover and suite, who is expected to arrive in three weeks from the Continent, and will chiefly reside at Kew during his stay. The Prince and Princess Royal will remain at Hanover during the absence of the King.

LORD STANLEY.—Lord Stanley, we regret to say, is suffering under a rather severe attack of the gout, which prevents the noble lord from attending to his official and parliamentary duties.—*Standard*.

The Duke and Duchess of Nemours are, it is said, about to come over from France on a visit to her Majesty and the Prince.

THE POST OFFICE.—Mr Rowland Hill has sent a letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, stating great inaccuracies in a return recently made to the House of Commons by the Post office, professing to give the gross and nett revenue derived from inland letters and from foreign and colonial letters, for the year 1842. The general results, Mr Hill undertakes to prove, are utterly fallacious.

Religious Intelligence.

HOMERTON COLLEGE.—The Protestant Dissenting college at Homerton has sustained afflicting losses in the death of two eminently promising students—the one, Mr Jacob Davies, M.A., who had finished his university and academical course; but it pleased God not to permit him to commence the labours of his gospel ministry, for which he had made distinguished attainments: he died, after a long illness, at his father's house at Edinburgh, March 17th last, in the 26th year of his age. The other was Mr James Ayrton, of University college, London, who had entered upon the divinity course at Homerton only in September last. He died at Douglas, in the Isle of Man, on the 29th of March, aged 23.

THE IRVINGITES.—We have much gratification in learning that a great part of the body of dissenters, called Irvingites, last week returned to the bosom of the church of England. The members of the denomination at Nottingham, Bridgnorth, Stourbridge, and several other places, were, we are informed, regularly presented to the bishops of the different dioceses. The so-called "angels" of several churches now assemble daily at their meeting house, New-hall street, in this town, where the larger portion of the church of England service is daily read. These ministers wear white surplices, and in many respects conform to the ceremonies of the church of Rome.—*Birmingham Advertiser.*

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.—The following is an abstract of the annual report of the society which was read by Mr Jones, the corresponding secretary and superintendent, at the annual meeting held on the 5th inst. It briefly referred to the operations of this society and its auxiliaries, in China, Java, Burmah, Assam, India, Ceylon, Australasia, New Zealand, South Sea islands, West and South Africa, Spanish America, West Indies, New Providence, the United States of America, British North America, Newfoundland, Labrador, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Hungary, Corinthia, Lower Saxony, Württemberg, Iceland, Denmark, Russia, the Mediterranean, and adjacent countries. In noticing the home proceedings, the committee expressed their regret at the retirement of Mr John Davis, the society's superintendent, the duties of which office he discharged for nearly twenty-four years, in a faithful and conscientious manner. The following grants of publications were reported:—for Sabbath day circulation, soldiers, sailors, and rivermen, home missionary, district visiting, city and town missions, Christian instruction, and other kindred societies, British emigrants, prisoners, hospitals, workhouses, railway workmen, fairs, races, foreigners in England, special occasions at public executions, convict ships, and other important objects, amounting to 1,677,936. Grants to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, 302,557. The value of the foregoing grants is 2,668l. 18s. One hundred and six libraries have been granted during the year to schools, destitute districts, and union houses; also a grant of books, value 60l., at half price, has been made to form libraries for the police. The report further stated the proposals of the committee for the formation of factory libraries, and the issue of cheap books, and their efforts to counteract those principles which are opposed to the reformation. The new publications of the year were 218. Publications circulated amount to 16,469,551, making the total circulation of the society, in nearly ninety languages, including the issues of foreign societies assisted by the parent institution, to amount to nearly 377,000,000. The total benevolent income of the year amounts to 4,980 l. 10s. 10d.; special donations received for China to 31st March, 1,747l. 4s. 4d.; proceeds of sales, 43,064l. 14s. 9d.; gratuitous issues amount to 6,649l. 7s. 1d.; being 1,668l. 11s. 3d. beyond the amount of the benevolent contributions, without any charge or expense whatever thereon; legacies, 999l. 19s.; total receipts, 52,605l. 7s. 9d.

SPECIAL PRAYER MEETING ON BEHALF OF THE MISSIONARY CAUSE AT TAHITI.—At the suggestion of the Geneva Evangelical society, the directors of the London Missionary society have adopted a resolution recommending to the different sections of the protestant Christian church in Britain and on the Continent, and to the members of the society in particular, to set apart Monday, June 5, as a season of united and solemn prayer to the God of all grace for his special blessing, to ensure the accomplishment of the following important objects:—

1. To deliver our brethren in the South Sea islands, and the whole church, from the attempts of the papacy.
2. To pour his Holy Spirit from on high on all the evangelical churches, and to unite them by a living faith.
3. To endow all Christians, and particularly pastors and evangelists, with decision and courage to resist Rome, and to advance the glorious reign of Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God.
4. To speedily consume "by the spirit of his mouth" (These. ii. 8) the deadly errors of the papacy; to break the yoke which it has imposed upon the necks of so many people; and to lead by His counsel the souls whom she would estrange from Christ, and who ought to be dear unto us, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

EVANGELICAL VOLUNTARY CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—The annual breakfast, in connexion with this association, took place at the London tavern, Bishopsgate street; H. A. Hankey, Esq., in the chair. The attendance was very respectable, and the feeling displayed on the subject of the Factories bill and the state church, was strong and unmistakable. We had prepared a report of the meeting, but our limits will not allow of its insertion this week. The principal speakers were the Chairman, the Revs Mr Archer, Mr Richards, J. Burnet, J. Sherman, S. Green, Dr Morison, Mr J. Conder, and others. The speakers dwelt especially on the pleasing aspect of the cause advocated by the society beyond former years, on the approaching disruption of the Scottish

church, and the improved healthiness of feeling among dissenters. At the close, a resolution was passed, referring to the services rendered by the late Duke of Sussex in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

ORDINATION.—On Friday, the 14th of April, 1843, the Rev. J. Nugent, of Rotherham college, Yorkshire, was ordained to the pastorate of the independent church assembling in Bethel chapel, Henry street, Bury, Lancashire. The Rev. W. Blackburn of Bamford commenced the service with the reading of the scriptures and prayer. The Rev. R. M. Miller of Atherstone delivered the introductory discourse. The Rev. J. Kennedy, of New Road chapel, Bury, proposed the usual questions, and received Mr N.'s confession of faith, together with his reasons for seceding from the church of Rome; which were highly satisfactory and deeply interesting. The question to the church was most affectionately answered by S. Woodcock, Esq., the senior deacon. The Rev. J. Gwyther of Manchester offered the ordination prayer; after which the Rev. Thomas Smith, A.M., classical tutor of Rotherham college, delivered an excellent charge from 1 Tim. iv. 12—16. And in the evening the Rev. John Ely of Leeds preached to the people, from "Ye are the salt of the earth." The Rev. W. Roseman of Bury, and other neighbouring ministers, likewise took part in the services of the day.

MISSION TO CHINA.—Some days since it was stated that it was the intention of the Bishop of London to issue a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, to be read to their respective congregations on the Sunday after Ascension day, May 28, authorising collections in support of a fund for the propagation of Christianity in China! The letter, which has just been received by the clergy, fixes as the day of collection the Sunday after Ascension day. "The object," writes the Bishop, "to which I propose this year to appropriate the offerings so made, is the formation of a fund for planting the church of this country in its newly-acquired territories on the coast of China; and I earnestly hope that it may be of such an amount as to provide a competent maintenance, not only for a missionary clergy, but also for a missionary bishop. The success with which the divine goodness has crowned our endeavours to establish bishoprics in the colonies, and the happy results which have in every instance followed such establishment, affords the strongest encouragement for us to persevere in that good work; and with regard to China in particular, the obvious difficulties which impede the introduction of Christianity into that vast empire, as well as the peculiar state of society which is likely to exist, for some time at least, in our new settlements, render especially necessary the superintendence and control of a bishop."

BIRTHS.

May 7, the wife of the Rev. T. FINCH, baptist minister, of Penance, of a daughter.

May 6, the wife of the Rev. CHARLES LEE, of Worcester, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On Wednesday last, by license, at Vicar Lane chapel, Coventry, by the Rev. John Sibree, Mr WILLIAM HAWKES, merchant, of Birmingham, to Miss HANNAH COLLIS, of the Butts, in that city.

April 30, in Hall Street chapel, Barnard Castle, by the Rev. J. Harrison, Mr THOMAS NEWBOLD, to Miss KELLATT, of Kilmord Wood, near Barnard Castle.

May 10, by license, at the independent chapel, Fulwood, by the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, the Rev. SAMUEL LUKE, of Chester, to JEMIMA, eldest daughter of Thomas THOMPSON, Esq., Poundsford Park, Somersetshire.

May 5, at Islington chapel, by the Rev. B. S. HOLLIS, Mr HENRY PINCHON, of Southampton, to MARY, eldest daughter of Mr A. KNIGHT, of Islington.

May 6, at the English baptist chapel, Pontypool, Mr D. DAVIES, baptist minister, Ruthin, to Miss JANE DAVID, of the Baptist Theological institution, Pontypool.

May 11, by the Rev. J. Pye Smith, D.D., L.L.D., &c., at the Old Gravel Pitt meeting, Homerton, the Rev. W. H. HURDALL, minister of Ramsden Street chapel, Huddersfield, to CAROLINE HOUGHTON, the youngest daughter of the late Rowland Houghton, Esq., surgeon, of the same place.

DEATHS.

In March, at Kettering, in the island of Jamaica, COLTART JAMES KNIBB, six years of age, the only son of the Rev. W. Knibb.

May 1, at Hayes, in Kent, at a very advanced age, Lady GIBBS, widow of the Right Hon. Sir Vicary Gibbs, late lord chief justice of the court of Common Pleas.

May 10, SARAH, the beloved wife of William YARNOLD, baptist minister, Romsey, aged 54 years.

May 12, at Birmingham, aged 78, MARTHA, relict of the late Mr George PRITCHARD, and mother of the British Consul at Tahiti, South Seas.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, May 12.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 85:—

The Wesleyan Centenary chapel, Boston, Lincolnshire. J. G. Calthrop, superintendent registrar.

The Nebo chapel, Llansantffraid, Cardiganshire. G. J. Wigley, superintendent registrar.

The Hope chapel, Clifton, Gloucestershire. C. Latham, superintendent registrar.

The Welsh chapel, St Giles's, Cripplegate. A. J. Baylis, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTS.

BINYON, EDWARD, 12, Bell's buildings, Salisbury square, City, commission agent, May 19, June 20: solicitors, Mr Fildes, 3, Paper buildings, Temple, and Mr T. Branson, Sheffield.

BUTLER, WILLIAM, Bradford, Wiltshire, victualer, May 26, June 23: solicitors, Messrs Bush and Son, Bradford.

FAIRLESS, GEORGE, Melbourne, Yorkshire, timber merchant, May 23, June 14: solicitors, Messrs Parker and Weddall, Selby.

FISHER, THOMAS, Selby, Yorkshire, linen draper, May 24, June 14: solicitors, Messrs Blanchard and Co., York.

GALLOR, JOSEPH, jun., Bedminster, Bristol, painter, May 25, June 26: solicitors, Messrs Shalloock and Cracknells, Bristol, and Mr Medina, Thavies inn, London.

GODDARD, JAMES and HOLLAND, Market Harborough, Leicestershire, bankers, May 24, July 3: solicitors, Mr J. L. Douglass, Market Harborough, and Messrs Austen and Hobson, Gray's inn, London.

GOLLOR, JOHN, REDMUND, DAVID, and KINGSMOUTH, THOMAS, Charles street, City road, iron founders, May 25, June 23: solicitor, Mr W. O. Tucker, Sun chambers, Threadneedle street.

LEDBURY, WILLIAM, Hagley, Worcestershire, and Coalbournbrook, Staffordshire, coal merchant, May 22, June 22: solicitor, Mr W. B. Collis, Stourbridge.

MAY, JOHN WESLEY, Bristol, baker, May 26, June 23: solicitors, Messrs. Poole and Gamlen, Gray's inn, London, and Mr Colthurst, Bristol.

NORTH, WILLIAM, Bath, innkeeper, May 30, June 22: solicitors, Messrs Gunning and Gill, Bath.

POOLLY, JOSEPH, Maidstone, Kent, timber merchant, May 19, June 23: solicitors, Messrs Palmer and Co., 24, Bedford row, London, agents for Mr Knowles King, Maidstone, Kent.

STEVENS, JOHN, Britwell Salome, Oxfordshire, iron founder, May 19, June 23: solicitors, Mr G. Eyre, Bensington, Oxfordshire, and Mr J. T. Miller, Abchurch lane, London.

STOTT, JAMES, Wuerdle and Wardle, Lancashire, woollen manufacturer, May 24, June 14: solicitors, Mr Wilkinson, 44, Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Mr J. Andrew, Manchester.

THOMPSON, HENRY, Bristol, saddler, May 23, June 22: solicitors, Mr J. P. Hinton, Bristol, and Messrs Hicks and Brakenbridge, 16, Bartlett's buildings, London.

WARD, ROBERT, Windmill street, Tottenham court road, fringe manufacturer, May 24, June 28: solicitor, Mr Cox, Planers' hall, Broad street.

WHITTENBURY, JAMES CALEB, Blackheath hill, Kent, builder, May 18, June 23: solicitors, Mr J. Hooker, Bartlett's buildings, Holborn.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

EWART, JAMES, Glasgow, West India merchant, May 19, June 9, GILCHRIST, JOHN, Peterhead, merchant, May 16, June 3.

KINROSS, JOHN, Gannochan, Perthshire, farmer, May 20, June 10.

KIRKPATRICK, THOMAS, Glasgow, merchant, May 18, June 8.

Tuesday, May 16.

BANKRUPTS ANNULLED.

FULLER, WILLIAM, Cliffe, near Lewes, Sussex, currier.

STUART, ROBERT, late of Grosvenor wharf, Wilton road, Pimlico, and 4, Trafalgar square, Charing cross, but now of Santa Fe de Bogota, New Granada, manufacturer of artificial granite.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLISON, JAMES, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer, May 26, July 7: solicitors, Messrs Crosby and Compton, 3, Church court, Old Jewry, London, and Mr John Theodore Hoyle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

CLARK, THOMAS JOSEPH, Billingsgate, City, victualer, May 30, June 27: solicitors, Messrs Lang and Harvey, 107, Fenchurch street.

JAY, VICTOR, Castle lane, Southwark Bridge road, Surrey, silk hat manufacturer, May 25, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Herwood and Griffin, 27, Austin friars.

JONES, WILLIAM, Llanrwst, Denbighshire, druggist, June 1, 30: solicitor, Messrs Griffiths, Llanrwst, Denbighshire; and Messrs Gregory and Co., Bedford row, London.

PARFREY, EDWARD, Swaffham, Norfolk, miller, May 24, June 20: solicitors, Mr Dufaur, 23, Queen Anne street, Cavendish square; Mr J. Morris, Swaffham.

POOL, JOHN, Morrice town, Devonshire, brewer, May 31, June 28: solicitors, Mr William Joseph Little, Devonport; Messrs Sole, 68, Aldermanbury, London.

SQUIER, TRISTRAM THOMAS, Exeter, brush maker, May 22, June 28: solicitors, Mr William Denis Moore, Exeter, and Mr T. P. Turner, Bedford row, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AITKEN, THOMAS, Falkirk, writer, May 19, June 13.

CRAIG, THOMAS, Laurieston, Glasgow, coach builder, May 22, June 12.

EWART, JAMES, Glasgow, merchant, May 19, June 9.

GLENDINNING, JAMES, Glasgow, grocer, May 25, June 15.

MACNAIR, ROBERT, and Co., Glasgow, merchants, May 18, June 8.

MORRISON, JOHN and Co., Grange, near Alloa, brewers, May 23, June 13.

BRITISH FUNDS.

The funds have slightly declined in price since our last, and the market is not firm. There were one or two important transactions on Monday, in the three-and-a-half stock, at 102½.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Ditto for Account	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per cents Reduced	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3½ per cts. Reduced	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½
New 3½ per cent.	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
Long Annuities	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Bank Stock	180½	181½	181½	181½	181½	181½
India Stock	266½	265½	266½	—	267½	—
Exchequer Bills	63pm	63pm	61pm	60pm	60pm	60pm
India Bonds	—	73pm	75pm	75pm	76pm	76pm

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	113	Mexican	30½
Belgian	102½	Peruvian	20
Brazilian	75½	Portuguese 5 per cents	40½
Buenos Ayres	29	Ditto 3 per cents	—
Columbian	25	Russian	113½
Danish	85½	Spanish Active	23
Dutch 2½ per cents	57½	Ditto Passive	4½
Ditto 5 per cents	100½	Ditto Deferred	11½

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	41½	London and Brighton	34½
Birmingham & Gloucester	56½	London & Croydon/Trunk	10½
Blackwall	—	London and Greenwich	4½
Bristol and Exeter	—	Ditto New	—
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	28½	Manchester & Birm.	—
Eastern Counties	9½	Manchester and Leeds	82½
Edinburgh and Glasgow	50	Midland Counties	66½
Great North of England	61½	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great Western	91½	North Midland	68
Ditto New	67	Ditto New	33½
Ditto Fifths	17½	South Eastern and Dover	24½
London and Birmingham	212	South Western	65
Ditto Quarter Shares	52½	Ditto New	—

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, May 15.

There was a fair show of wheat, and for the finer qualities there was rather an improved demand; secondary sorts moved off somewhat slowly at the rates of last week.

Barley was in moderate supply, and though the inquiry was far from brisk, former terms were supported.

Oats were held firmly, and fine corn was the turn higher.

The quantity of beans and peas on sale was small, and the little business done was at last week's prices.

Wheat, Red New	40 to 46	Malt, Ordinary	42 to 52
Fine	46 to 50	Pale	54 to 58
White	40 to 48	Peas, Hog	27 to 29
Fine	48 to 54	Maple	30 to 31
Rye	32 to 36	Boilers	30 to 32
Barley	24 to 28	Beans, Ticks	24 to 26
Malt	30 to 34		

Beans, Pigeon	29 to 32	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN	
Harrow	26 to 30	Wheat	20s. 0d.
Oats, Feed	16 to 18	Barley	9 0
Fine	18 to 20	Oats	8 0
Poland	18 to 20	Rye	11 6
Potato	18 to 20	Beans	11 6
		Peas	11 6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR MAY 12.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.		
Wheat	46s.	4d.	Wheat	46s.	3d.
Barley	28	2	Barley	28	6
Oats	17	2	Oats	17	3
Rye	27	7	Rye	28	10
Beans	26	4	Beans	26	1
Peas	28	1	Peas	27	10

SEEDS.

The transactions in the seed market were quite unimportant.

Linseed	per qr	Clover	per cwt
English, sowing	55s. to 65s.	English, red....	—s. to —
Baltic, ditto	—	Ditto, white....	—
Ditto, crushing	42 .. 48	Flemish, red ..	—
Medit. & Odessa	45 .. 46	Ditto, white....	—
Hempseed, small	35 .. 38	New Hamb., red ..	—
Large	46 .. 48	Ditto, white....	—
Canary, new	65 .. 66	Old Hamb., red ..	—
Extra	66 .. 68	Ditto, white....	—
Caraway, old	—	French, red	—
New	42 .. 44	Ditto, white....	—
Ryegrass, English	30 .. 42	Coriander	10 .. 16
Scotch	18 .. 40	Old	16 .. 20
Mustard	per bushel	Rapeseed	per ton
Brown, new	9 .. 11	English, new ..	32l. to 37l.
White	9 .. 10 6	Linseed cakes	—
Trefoil	18 .. 21	English... 9l. 10s. to 10l. 0s.	—
Old	12 .. 16	Foreign... 5l. 10s. to 6l. 0s.	—
Tares, new	3 .. 4	Rapeseed cakes 5l. 5s. to 5l. 10s.	—

PROVISIONS, LONDON, May 15.

There was scarcely any demand for old Irish butter. Some new Waterford and Limerick was offered at 78s. to 80s. The price of foreign is lower, fresh being in short supply. Friesland, 88s.; Kiel, 80s. to 86s.; Holland, 80s. to 84s. per cwt. No change in bacon, and nothing new to report of bale or tierce middles. No alteration in lard. Hams have advanced 2s. to 4s. per cwt, owing to a short supply.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, May 15.

In hops there has been a good business, and at very firm prices. Since this day week an advance has occurred in the quotations of Weald of Kent, East Kent, and Sussex.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, May 15.

The trade in beef and mutton was much firmer than for some time past, and prices advanced full 2d. per 8lbs.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s. 6d. to 3s. 10d.	Veal	3s. 4d. to 4s. 6d.
Mutton	2 10 .. 3 10	Pork	3 0 .. 3 10
Lamb	4s. 6d. to 5s. 8d.		

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday 383	7,290	252	337
Monday 2,435	26,190	115	327

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, May 15.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.			
Inferior Beef 2s. 8d. to 3s. 10d.	Inf. Mutton	2s. 4d. to 3s. 10d.	
Middling do 2 10 .. 3 0	Mid. ditto	3 0 .. 3 2	
Prime large 3 0 .. 3 2	Prime ditto	3 4 .. 3 6	
Prime small 3 4 .. 3 6	Veal	3 4 .. 4 4	
Large Fork 3 0 .. 3 6	Small Pork	3 8 .. 3 10	
Lamb	4s. 6d. to 5s. 8d.		

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, May 15.

The arrivals during the past week amount to 2705 tons: viz., from Yorkshire, 825; Scotland, 1180; Devons, 435; Kent and Essex, 65; Jersey, 110; Wisbech, 90 tons.

York reds	80s. to 100s.	Kent, whites	50s. to 56s.
Scotch ditto	50 .. 70	Guernsey ditto ..	45 .. 55
Devons	70 .. 75	Wisbech	50 .. 60

COTTON.

There has again been an extensive demand, particularly from speculators, who have purchased largely; during the last two days, however, there has been less animation, but prices closed at an advance of 1d. per lb. on the common and middling qualities of American; in other descriptions there is no change to notice.

WOOL.

In combing wools few sales have been made, and prices are without alteration.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, May 13.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow 60s. to 75s.	New Clover Hay 80s. to 110s.
Old ditto	Old ditto
Useful old ditto 82 .. 86	Oat Straw 48 .. 50
Fine Upland do 86 .. 90	Wheat Straw 50 .. 52

COAL EXCHANGE, May 15.

Hetton's, 20s. 6d.; Lambton's, 20s. 3d.; Stewart's, 20s. 6d.; Hartlepool, 20s. 3d. Ships arrived this week, 238.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, MAY 16.

TEA.—10,000 packages are declared for sale on the 23rd inst. The market is very heavy. Common congous are offered for cash at 1s. per lb.; fair and good common congou, 1s. 0½d. to 1s. 1½d. per lb.

COFFEE.—4,000 bags Ceylon were sold by auction at very low rates; good ordinary pale fetched 46s. to 47s., and good ordinary mixed, 45s. to 46s. 6d. This is a fall of 5s. per cwt within the last week or ten days.

STUGAR.—123 hhds Barbadoes were sold by auction at higher rates. Good to fine yellow fetched 66s. to 68s. 6d.; low to middling, 61s. 6d. to 63s. The refined market was firm, and in some instances higher rates were paid.

TALLOW.—Petersburgh yellow candle on the spot is offered at 43s. per cwt. For arrival 43s. 6d. per cwt. is asked.

Advertisements.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM'S AMENDMENTS

OF THE EDUCATIONAL CLAUSES OF THE FACTORY BILL.—At a numerous and most respectable MEETING, held in the Free Trade Hall, MANCHESTER, May 10th, 1843.

Alderman CALLENDER in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—
Moved by the Rev. JAMES GWYTHER, seconded by the Rev. C. THOMPSON, and carried unanimously:—

1. That whilst the past efforts of Protestant Dissenters to diffuse enlightened education among the people, sustain their profession as friends and advocates of universal instruction, yet believing that partiality or favouritism to one portion of the community, on account of religious distinctions, is not only unjust in the principles of government, but disturbs the harmony of the community, and is injurious to the interests of truth and piety, we denounce the bill now before parliament, since it recognises and extends, in education as well as in religion, such unequal and obnoxious preferences in favour of what is denominated the Established Church.

Moved by Professor NEWMAN, seconded by the Rev. J. DAVIS, and carried unanimously:—

2. That the modifications of the educational clauses of the Factory Bill, as proposed by Sir James Graham, do not expunge from it this unrighteous and odious principle, and are otherwise altogether unsatisfactory, inasmuch as they still recognise a system of superintendence, inspection, and decision, alike partial, inquisitorial, and unconstitutional, denying the due representation of the interests of the people, and interfering with the natural authority of parents; inasmuch as they still infringe on the rights of conscience by compelling public support to the religious instruction afforded by a particular sect; inasmuch as the sectarian power formerly proposed to be vested in the parochial clergy is increased rather than diminished, while they have no righteous claim in a national institution for more than what is equally possessed by the ministers of other denominations; inasmuch as they propose to degrade Dissenters by requiring that their children should leave, when religious instruction is to be given to them, the public school rooms maintained at the public expense; inasmuch as the schools are to be established for religious as well as secular education, and will be calculated to give peculiar facilities for proselytism, without any sufficient check either for detection or punishment; inasmuch as the opening of such school rooms for divine worship on Sunday will be likely to cause efforts to be made during the week by the clerical trustee or teacher to secure attendance on Sunday; and inasmuch as, if

such endeavours be frustrated, the community must still be taxed to uphold a species of chaplaincy which, having little or no service to render, will be a source of contention and strife.

Moved by the Rev. W. M'KERRROW, seconded by the Rev. J. L. POOLE, and carried unanimously:—

3. That the following petition be adopted, to be signed by the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford, and that it be committed for presentation to the representatives of these boroughs, Mark Philips, Esq., T. M. Gibson, Esq., and Joseph Brotherton, Esq., with a request that they support the prayer of the petitioners for the rejection of the bill, and present every obstruction which the forms of the House will permit to its enactment as the law of the land.

[The petition embodied the first two resolutions].

Moved by the Rev. J. W. MASSIE, seconded by the Rev. J. BAKEWELL, and carried unanimously:—

4. That the resolutions now adopted as expressive of the judgment of this great community against the measure, be advertised in such of the Manchester and London newspapers as the committee may consider desirable to convey to the country the determined hostility cherished by the people of this district against the educational provisions of the bill of Sir James Graham, and their resolution, should the bill pass into a law, to use all constitutional means for its repeal.

Moved by the Rev. R. HALL, D.D.; seconded by the Rev. J. W. MASSIE, and carried unanimously:—

5. That this meeting stand adjourned till it shall be ascertained what is the decision to which the House of Commons shall come in reference to the education clauses of the Factory Bill; and should they resolve to pass the measure into a law, that the adjourned meeting be convened to memorialise the Queen that she may be pleased to dissolve parliament, and make an appeal to the country for their judgment on the question which the bill involves.

W. R. CALLENDER, Chairman.

It was carried by acclamation:—

6. That the best thanks of this meeting be given to Alderman Callender for his kindness in presiding, and his conduct of the business of the evening.

THE CONNEXIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST ASSOCIATION, having taken into careful consideration the alterations introduced into the "Factories Bill"—

Resolved unanimously:—

1. That this Committee deeply regrets to find, that the Bill as now altered, yet, contains many provisions against which it considers itself imperatively called upon most strongly to object, and solemnly to protest. That although a small portion of the alterations are, to some extent, improvements, others of them are illusory or unimportant, and some of the provisions of the Bill are more objectionable, in their altered, than in their original state; and that the principal objections urged in many thousands of numerous signed petitions, and in the petitions of this Committee, presented to the House of Commons, against the said Bill, have not been either removed or abated by the alterations which have been introduced.

2. That regarding, as among the most valuable and unalienable rights of parents, to place their children under such instructors as they may freely select, and also to possess the power of granting their children leave of absence from school, for any reason which they may regard as sufficient, without becoming liable to be punished by the civil authorities; and as the provisions of the altered Bill would deprive of those rights the parents of children employed in factories, and in cases in which those rights are not surrendered, violate parental feelings, and enforce compliance by inflicting heavy fines, or penalties, and by rendering their children uneligible to work in any factory, deprive them of the means of getting their bread; this Committee therefore regards the Bill, as insulting to the poor, unjust and tyrannical in principle, and calculated to become a means of great oppression and cruelty.

3. This Committee also most decidedly objects, to the power proposed to be conferred on the Committee of Privy Council, to control the instruction given in all schools attended by factory children, or to annihilate all such of those schools as it may think proper to condemn (and notwithstanding they may be either self-maintained, or supported by voluntary contributions), by declaring those schools disqualified to grant the school certificates required by the Bill; and then, as the children would not have the means of obtaining employment, the school would be broken up. This Committee regards such power as most dangerous and alarming, and destructive of both civil and religious freedom.

4. This Committee also highly disapproves of allowing the Committee of Privy Council to tax all classes of the Community, for supporting schools in which only members of the Established Church, approved by the Bishop of the diocese, are to be eligible to hold the office of schoolmaster, and in which the scholars are to be religiously instructed, exclusively, in the tenets of the Established Church, and under the sole control of the clergy of that church. This Committee regards the provisions of the Bill conferring this power as dangerous, sectarian, and unconstitutional; and to Dissenters, invidious, unjust, and oppressive.

5. That this Committee regarding compulsory payments for the support of religion, as contrary to the principles of truth and righteousness taught in the Holy Scriptures; for the same reason it also highly disapproves of levying any rate or tax appropriated to the purpose of supporting schools, in which the scholars are to be taught the catechism, creed, or other formularies, or the tenets of any particular church; or in which the minister of any such Church shall be entitled to exclusive or pre-eminent authority, as to the communication of religious instruction;—this Committee therefore regards the provisions of the Bill, by which taxes may be levied for this purpose, deserving of unmingled condemnation.

6. That although this Committee most earnestly desires, that the advantages of a sound secular and religious education should be universally diffused, yet as it firmly believes, that the educational clauses of the Bill are most unconstitutional and unjust; and would, if enforced, deprive many poor persons of some of their dearest, social, civil, and religious rights; and would be to all classes of Dissenters highly obnoxious and oppressive; and produce general dissatisfaction and alarm, which could only be removed by the repeal of the Bill; believing also that the Bill, if enacted, would impede rather than advance the progress of education, this Committee therefore most earnestly recommends, that the most vigorous and persevering efforts be immediately put forth, to oppose the Bill by every constitutional means, and in its every stage—that public meetings be held, to explain the objectionable clauses of the Bill—and that Petitions be sent from every congregation and school in our Connexion, earnestly imploring the House of Commons that the Educational Clauses may be utterly expunged, or the Bill entirely rejected.—And this Committee further recommends, that the petitions should, if possible, be presented to the House on or before the 22nd instant, when the Bill is again to come under its consideration; or if in some instances this is found to be impracticable, then at all events, before it comes on for the third reading.

Signed by order and on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS TOWNEND,
MATTHEW JOHNSON,
DAVID ROWLAND,
ROBERT ECKETT.

May 10, 1843.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.—At a numerous Meet-

ing of the United Committees of Ministers and Gentlemen, appointed for the Protection of the Civil and Religious Privileges of the Wesleyan Methodists, and for the General Superintendence of its Educational Operations, held in the Wesleyan Centenary Hall, Bishopgate-street-within, London, on Wednesday, May 10, 1843:

The Rev. JOHN SCOTT in the Chair;

The educational clauses of the "Bill for regulating the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Factories, and for the better Education of Children in Factory Districts," as amended by the Committee of the House of Commons—were read and anxiously considered; after which the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I. That this United Committee acknowledge the attention which the objections to those clauses have received, and that some valuable improvements have been introduced into the Bill; but, while they thus admit the importance of several of the alterations made in its details, they are at the same time decidedly of opinion that others fail to accomplish the ends for which they have been professedly introduced; that the general character of the Bill has not undergone any material change; and that the greater number of the most weighty objections against it remain in full force.

II. That this Committee will not attempt to enumerate all the objections which still lie against this measure, but content themselves with specifying the following:—

1. The constitution of the Board of Trustees has been changed, if possible, for the worse. As the Bill stood before, the Justices of the Peace might have made a selection of persons, irrespective of party feeling, so that the rate-payers in a given district should be fairly represented; but as the enactment is now proposed, there must be, in all cases, a majority of Churchmen. This could not fail to work most vexatiously. Few Nonconformists would be inclined to become members of a trust, or to take part in the discussions of a board, where it was previously secured that upon whatever question of expenditure or management brought under consideration, there was a predominant majority on the other side.

2. In Clause 67, three hours on one day in the week are allowed for the specific religious instruction of the children of Nonconformist parents, when they may be taken to some convenient place, and instructed in religion by the ministers of the chapels in which their parents attend divine worship, or by any persons whom such ministers may appoint. But the value of this concession is greatly diminished by the provision in Clause 65, that religious instruction shall be given to the children of parents belonging to the Church of England, during three several hours, on as many days in the week, in a separate room, and while the other children are receiving secular instruction in the school. This will expose the children who may not retire for such purpose into the separate room, to invidious remark, and will engender jealousy and antipathy, instead of producing harmony and affection. In any general system of education, the specific religious instruction ought to be given by the clergyman, or other person, to the children of Church of England parents, at the same time when the children of Nonconformists receive specific religious instruction from the ministers whom their parents may prefer, or those whom such ministers may appoint; and the hours for receiving secular education ought to be common to all.

3. The combined operation of Clauses 2 and 65, by which females under the age of twenty-one years, and males under the age of eighteen years, would be compelled to attend, on Sunday, Christmas-day, and Good Friday, in the cases there mentioned, such minister of religion as might be appointed for them, and the interference with the rights of property by diverting it from its legitimate object, as provided for by Clause 70, are unjustifiable invasions of civil rights, and of the rights of conscience.

4. The "partial, narrow, and exclusive" character of the particular object to be accomplished by the Bill remains unchanged. Notwithstanding the various modifications which the Bill has undergone, the schools for which it provides would, in their primary and leading character, still be Church schools; and to the support of these schools, the new rate, which it is proposed to raise, is to be exclusively devoted. One of the annoying and injurious effects of this exclusiveness would be, that a number of persons well qualified for the office of school-teachers would be precluded from that employment for which they have been prepared at considerable expense; as no one would be able to obtain the situation of principal master in one of these schools, unless he were approved by the Bishop of the diocese, as qualified to teach the doctrines of the Church of England, and but few Nonconformists, it may be presumed, would be appointed as assistant teachers. Thus an obnoxious law, now happily repealed, is proposed to be re-enacted in a new form, and a religious test set up as a qualification for a civil employment. Of the principles involved in this scheme, the Committee entirely disapproved, and they are impelled by a solemn sense of duty to continue their most decided opposition to a plan which would appropriate to schools of one class, to the entire exclusion of the schools of other classes, the fund to be provided, by common taxation or assessment, professedly for the purposes of general education.

5. The Bill, in its amended form, could not fail eventually to destroy all schools, chiefly or wholly erected and supported by voluntary zeal and liberality. This, in the judgment of the Committee, would be unjust, impolitic, and injurious. It would be unjust thus practically to undervalue the services of those who have patriotically employed their influence and property in promoting the education of the poorer classes, in times of greatest destitution of other adequate means of moral instruction and improvement. It would be impolitic to do that which must ultimately set aside a voluntary system of education, which has confessedly accomplished so large an amount of good, for a new and untried scheme. It would surely be the highest legislative wisdom to retain that which is useful, and supplement it by a system which would supply the deficiency without interfering with the beneficial agencies which have long been actively at work; or else encourage and aid those agencies, and still further draw forth the efforts of voluntary zeal, until the entire emergency should be met, and a religious and sound education be diffused throughout the whole population. And while it would be generally injurious to the cause of national education to neutralize the voluntary principle at a time when the greatest combined exertions are requisite, it would be especially so, as, in the judgment of the Committee, it would tend to place the work of general education, to a great extent, under the control and influence of a sect in the Established Church whose Popish doctrines and practices all sound Protestants must regard with abhorrence and alarm.

III. That for such reasons, while as deeply convinced as ever of the duty and necessity of extending more generally the invaluable benefits of a religious and useful education, and having the greatest unwillingness to interpose any unnecessary obstructions to the accomplishment of this desirable end, the Committee feel themselves to be imperatively called upon to urge again most earnestly upon the Commons House of Parliament the prayer of their former petition:—

"That the 'Bill for regulating the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Factories, and for the better Education of Children in Factory Districts,' may be withdrawn, or not allowed to pass into a law."

"That another and separate bill, containing only such regulations respecting the employment of children and young people in factories, as to the wisdom of Parliament may seem necessary, may be forthwith substituted."

"And that at the earliest possible period (in the next session of Parliament, if at all practicable), a well-considered measure for General Education, on the basis of regular Scriptural instruction, and on just, tolerant, and liberal principles, may be brought forward and adopted; after reasonable time shall have been afforded for that due communication with all the parties principally interested in this great question, without which it is not probable that any satisfactory measure, on a subject of so much complication and difficulty, can be safely and beneficially carried."

And this Committee further express the opinion that, until such a measure may be prepared, the plan approved of in one of their former resolutions should be adopted, namely, that the grant now placed by Parliament at the disposal of the Lords' Committee of Privy Council be enlarged; so that the present claimants may obtain more ample assistance, and that other societies and schools, which are not now recognized, may, on Scriptural but yet tolerant terms, also receive encouragement and support.

Signed on behalf of the United Committee,

JOHN SCOTT, Chairman.

* Under the wording of this section, all ministers, other than those of the Church of England, whose ministry has commenced since the 52d George III., are in fact excluded. They are not "licensed ministers," as required by this Bill; nor is there any law which requires that they should be. "Licenses" implies leave asked, and a power to refuse. No such leave is required, nor does any legal enactment exist to prevent a person from becoming a minister of religion.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the SOCIETY for the PROMOTION of PERMANENT and UNIVERSAL PEACE, will be held in the Friends Meeting House, Houndsditch, on TUESDAY, the 22nd of MAY, 1843, at six o'clock in the evening precisely. SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., the treasurer, has engaged to take the Chair. N.B. Subscriptions and Donations in aid of the funds received by Mr. ALEXANDER BROCKWAY, at the Office of the Society, 19, New Broad street, Finsbury Circus.

TO BE LET, and entered upon immediately, that very desirable cottage, called PENHELYG, near the seaport Aberdovey, Merionethshire, late the residence of Mrs. Scott, deceased. Gardens and Plantations attached, and to be let therewith, consisting of about Two Acres. For particulars apply to Mr. EVAN EVANS, Town, Merioneth, via Machynlleth.

FACTORIES EDUCATION BILL.

A PUBLIC and crowded MEETING of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, held in the OLD MEETING-HOUSE, NORWICH.

THOMAS BRIGHTWELL, Esq., in the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted:—

Moved by Rev. W. BROCK; seconded by Rev. J. DRYDEN—That this Meeting, having heard an exposition of the Factories Education bill in its amended form, is unshaken in the conviction that in its principle it is vicious, and in its details unconstitutional and unjust.

Moved by Rev. ANDREW REED; seconded by Mr. J. FLETCHER—That this Meeting pledges itself to use every effort in opposition to the progress of the bill, encouraged by the hope that He "by whom kings reign and princes decree justice," will bring to nought this attempt to frustrate the Gospel of the grace of God.

Moved by Mr. FRED. PIGG; seconded by Mr. THO. GELDART—That a Petition, founded on the above resolutions, be adopted on behalf of the several religious bodies represented by this Meeting, and that they be severally requested to obtain signatures to a copy of it without delay.

FACTORIES EDUCATION BILL.—At a MEETING of the Board of Congregational Ministers, residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, held May 13, 1843, it was resolved—

1. That, in the deliberate judgment of this Board, the modifications proposed by the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, in the educational clauses of the Factories bill are most unsatisfactory, leaving the objectionable principles and many of the details of the measure in full force, and therefore that the Board strongly recommends that it should be still opposed by all constitutional means, and by every friend of civil and religious freedom.

2. That a petition, founded on the foregoing resolution, be forthwith prepared, to be signed by the members of this Board for presentation to the Commons' House of Parliament at the earliest opportunity.

3. That this Board most urgently recommends to every church and congregation, as well as to the several institutions for promoting education with which its members are connected, to prepare for presentation (before the 22nd inst if possible) petitions to the House of Commons, praying for the entire withdrawal of the educational clauses from the said bill.

JOHN ROBINSON, Secretary.

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